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THE HIGHLANDERS

OF

SCOTLAND.

VOL. II.

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THE

HIGHLANDERS

OF

SCOTLAND,

THEIR

ORIGIN, HISTORY, AND ANTIQUITIES;

WITH

A SKETCH OF THEIR

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS,

AND

AN ACCOUNT OF THE CLANS INTO WHICH THEY WERE DIVIDED, AND OF THE STATE OF SOCIETY WHICH EXISTED AMONG THEM.

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BY WILLIAM F. SKENE, F.S.A. Scot

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CONTENTS

OF VOLUME II.

PART II.

THE HIGHLAND CLANS.

CHAPTER I.

Page

Traditionary Origins of the Highland Clans.—History of Highland Tradition.—Succession of false Traditions in the Highlands.—Traces of the oldest and true Tradition to be found.—Effect to be given to the old Manuscript Genealogies of the Highland Clans 3

CHAPTER II.

I. The Gallgael. 26

Argyll 33

I. Siol Cuinn 35

1. Clan Rory, or Macrorys 54

CHAPTER III.

2. Clan Donald, or Macdonells 58

CHAPTER IV.

Clan Donald, continued 91

3. Clan Dugall, or Macdugalls 107

II. Siol Gillevray 113

1. Clan Neill, or Macneills 115

Page

2. Clan Lachlan, or Maclachlans . . . 118
3. Clan Ewen, or Macewens 120
III. Siol Eachern 121
1. Clan Dugall Craignish, or Campbells of Craignish . . . . . ib.
2. Clan Lamond, or Lamonds 123

CHAPTER V.

Atholl 127
IV. Clan Donnachie, or Robertsons . . . 140
V. Clan Pharlane, or Macfarlanes 149

CHAPTER VI.

II. Moray 161
I. Clan Chattan, or Macphersons 170

CHAPTER VII.

II. Clan Cameron, or Camerons 193
III. Clan Nachtan, or Macnachtans . . . 201
IV. Clan Gille-eon, or Macleans 205
V. Siol O'Cain 214
1. Clan Roich, or Monros 215
2. Clan Gillemhaol, or Macmillans . . . 218

CHAPTER VIII.

III. Ross 222
I. Clan Anrias, or Rosses 228
II. Clan Kenneth, or Mackenzies 233
III. Clan Mathan, or Mathiesons 241
IV. Siol Alpine 243
1. Clan Gregor, or Macgregors 244
2. Clan Grant, or Grants 254
3. Clan Fingon, or Mackinnons 258
4. Clan Anaba, or Macnabs 260

age
5. Clan Duffie, or Macphies 262
6. Clan Quarrie, or Macquarries . . . 263
7. Clan Aulay, or Macaulays 264

CHAPTER IX.

IV. GARMORAN 266
I. Clan Leod, or Macleods 272
II. Clan Campbell, or Campbells 280
V. CAITHNESS 285
I. Clan Morgan, or Mackays 287
VI. NESS 294
I. Clan Nical, or Macnicols 297
VII. SUTHERLAND 299
Conclusion 303
Table of the Descent of the Highland Clans . 305

APPENDIX.

Stewarts 308
Menzies 310
Frasers 311
Chisholms 313

PART II.

THE HIGHLAND CLANS.

THE

HIGHLAND CLANS.

CHAPTER I.

Traditionary Origins of the Highland Clans.—History of Highland Tradition.—Succession of false Traditions in the Highlands.—Traces of the oldest and true Tradition to be found.—Effect to be given to the old manuscript Genealogies of the Highland Clans.

In the second part of this Work, it is proposed to examine the history, individually, of the different clans of the Gael of the Highlands of Scotland, to trace the origin of each, their distinctive designations, descent, branches into which they have subsequently spread out, and the affiliation of the different clans with respect to each other, with such particulars of their earlier history as may seem to be supported by good evidence.

It has been considered unnecessary to load these accounts with the more recent details of family history, as possessing in themselves little variety or interest to the general reader, and in no respect

affecting the main object of this Work—namely, that of dispelling the obscurity and inconsistencies in which the early history of the Gael has been involved. When the outline has been distinctly traced, and the subject reduced to what it is to be hoped may appear a well-founded system of history, that outline would admit of being easily filled up, and the notice of each individual family brought down in full to the present time, were such details compatible with the necessary limits of a Work of the present description.

In order to explain the nature of the arrangement in which the clans have been placed, it will be necessary to recall to the recollection of the reader, that one great feature of the system of history established in this Work is, that previous to the thirteenth century the Highlanders of Scotland were divided into a few great tribes, which exactly corresponded with the ancient earldoms, and that from one or other of these tribes all the Highlanders are descended. Accordingly, the different clans will be found under the name of the ancient earldom, or tribe, of which they originally formed a part, and, throughout, the relation of the different clans to each other will be accurately maintained.

Before entering, however, upon the history of the Highland clans, it may not be amiss to notice an objection which may be made to this view of their origin.

The Pictish origin of the Highland clans contradicted by tradition.

In the early part of this Work it has been demonstrated, so far as a fact of that nature is capable of demonstration, that the modern Highlanders are the same people with those who inhabited the Highlands of Scotland in the ninth and tenth centuries, and that these inhabitants were not Scots, as is generally supposed, *but were the descendants of the great northern division of the Pictish nation*, who were altogether unaffected by the Scottish conquest of the Lowlands in 843, and who in a great measure maintained their independence of the kings of that race. It has also been shewn that these Northern Picts were a part of the Caledonians, the most ancient inhabitants of the country, and that they spoke the same language, and bore the same national appellation, with the present Highlanders. Now to this idea, it may be said, that the traditionary origins at present existing among the clans are radically opposed, and that it is difficult to believe that, if such was their real origin, a tradition of an opposite nature could exist among them. At first sight this objection will appear a serious one; but that arises, in a great measure, from not duly investigating the nature and history of the Highland traditions.

History of Highland traditions.

In examining the history of the Highland clans, the enquirer will first be struck by the diversity of the traditionary origins assigned to them. He will find them to have been held by some to be originally Irish, by others Scandinavian, Nor-

man, or Saxon, and he will find different origins assigned to many of the clans, all of which are supported by arguments and authorities equally strong. Among so many conflicting traditions and systems, he will probably feel himself in considerable uncertainty, and the presumption which naturally arises in his mind is, that all these systems and traditions are equally false, and that the true origin of the Highlanders has yet to be discovered. This presumption will be strengthened when he remarks, that in none of these traditions is a native origin ever assigned to any of the clans, but that, on the contrary, they are all brought from some one foreign people or another; a system which reason shews to be as impossible as it is unsupported by history and inconsistent with the internal condition of the country. But a closer inspection will discover to him a still more remarkable circumstance—viz., that there has been in the Highlands, from the earliest period, a succession of traditions regarding the origin of the different clans, which are equally opposed to each other, and which have equally obtained credit in the Highlands, at the time when they severally prevailed. It will be proper, therefore, to notice shortly these successive systems of traditionary origin which have sprung up at different times in the Highlands, and the causes which led to their being adopted by the clans.

Succession of traditions in the Highlands.

The immediate effect of the Scottish conquest, in 843, was the overthrow of the civilization and learn-

ing of the country. The Southern Picts, a people comparatively civilized, and who possessed in some degree the monkish learning of the age. were overrun by the still barbarous Scottish hordes, assisted by the equally barbarous Pictish tribes of the mountains. After this event, succeeded a period of confusion and civil war, arising from the struggles between the races of the Scots and of the Northern Picts, for preeminence on the one part, and independence on the other; and when order and learning once more lifted up their heads amongst the contending tribes, a race of kings of Scottish lineage were firmly established on the throne, and the name of Scot and Scotland had spread over the whole country. A knowledge of the real origin of the Highland clans was, in some degree, lost in the confusion. The natural result of the preeminence of the Scottish name in the country was a gradual belief in the Scottish origin of the Highland clans; and this belief, which must eventually have prevailed even among the clans themselves, was firmly fixed in their minds at an earlier period by a circumstance in the history of Scotland which will be afterwards noticed. The first system, then, which produced a change in the traditional origin of the Highlands may be called the *Scottish* or *Irish* system.

First general tradition assigns an Irish origin to the clans.

The oldest and purest specimen of this tradition which I have been able to discover, is contained in an ancient parchment MS., containing genealogies of most of the Highland clans, and which, from in-

ternal evidence, appears to have been written about A.D. 1450[1]. In this MS. the different clans are brought from two sources. First, the Macdonalds and their numerous dependants are brought from Colla Uais, an Irish king of the fourth century; second, the other clans mentioned in the MS. are brought in different lines from Feradach Fin and his son, Fearchar Fada, the latter of whom was a king of Dalriada, of the line of Lorn, and reigned in the early part of the eighth century. I shall state shortly the reasons which induce me to think generally that this could not have been the true origin of these clans, and that it must have been a system introduced by circumstances, and one which gradually obtained belief among the Highlanders. The particular objection to the origin of the different clans

[1] This MS., the value and importance of which it is impossible to estimate too highly, was discovered by the Author among the MSS. in the collection of the Faculty of Advocates. After a strict and attentive examination of its contents and appearance, the Author came to the conclusion that it must have been written by a person of the name of M'Lachlan as early as the year 1450; and this conclusion with regard to its antiquity was afterwards confirmed by discovering upon it the date of 1467. As this MS. will be very frequently quoted in the course of this part of the Work, it will be referred to as "the MS. of 1450," to distinguish it from the other Gaelic MSS. to which allusion will be made. The Author may add, that he has printed the text of the MS. in question, accompanied with a literal English translation, in the first number of the valuable Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis, edited by the Iona Club.

mentioned in the MS. will be found under the head of each clan. In the *first* place, it will be remarked, that although the Dalriads consisted of the three different tribes of Lorn, Cowall, and Kintyre; and although, as we have seen, the tribe of Lorn was almost annihilated, while that of Kintyre attained to so great power as eventually to obtain the supreme authority over all Scotland, yet the clans in this MS. inhabiting the greater part of the Highlands, including the extensive districts of Moray and Ross, are all brought from the small and almost annihilated tribe of Lorn, and not one from any of the other Dalriadic tribes. It is almost inconceivable that the population of such immense districts could have sprung from the small tribe of Lorn alone. In the *second* place, if we suppose the general system of the descent of the clans from the Dalriadic tribe of Lorn, as contained in the MS., to be correct, then the relative affinities of the clans with each other will be found at utter variance with those which are known and established by authentic documents. The clans brought by this MS. from the line of Lorn may be divided into two classes; first, those brought from sons or brothers of Fearchar Fada; secondly, those brought from a certain Cormac Mac Oirbertaigh, a descendant of Fearchar. In the second class, the Rosses are made nearer in connexion to the Macnabs than the Mackinnons, and yet there is no tradition of any connexion having subsisted between the Rosses and the Macnabs, a connexion which

distance of abode renders improbable; while, on the other hand, there exists a bond of Manrent between the Macnabs and Mackinnons, founded upon their close connexion and descent from two brothers. The same remark applies to the Macgregors, Mackinnons, and Macquarries, who by the MS. are made no nearer to each other than they are to the Rosses, Mackenzies, &c. If, however, we leave out of view those earlier parts of the different genealogies by which the clans are connected with the kings of the line of Lorn, then we shall find the rest of the MS. to be borne out in a most remarkable manner by every authentic record of the history of the different clans which remains to us. In the third place, those early parts of the different genealogies do not agree among themselves; thus, Cormac Mac Oirbertaigh is upon different occasions made great-great-grandson, great-grandson, grandson, a remote descendant, nephew, and brother of Fearchar Fada.

It will be shewn in another place, that there is every reason to think that the genealogies contained in the MS. are perfectly authentic for the last *fourteen* generations, or as far back as the year 1000, A.C., but that previous to that date they are to be regarded as altogether fabulous[1].

Upon the whole, the only inferences which can be legitimately drawn from the MS., are, 1st. That there was at that time an universal belief in the

[1] See infrà, p. 39.

Highlands, that the Highland clans formed a distinct people of the same race, and acknowledging a common origin. 2dly. That the clans mentioned in the MS., apparently consist of three great divisions; the clans contained in each division being more closely connected among themselves than with those of the other divisions. The *first* consists of the Macdonells and other families descended from them. The *second*, of those clans which are said by the MS. to be descended from sons or brothers of Fearchar Fada, and who inhabit principally the ancient district of Moray. The third is formed by the principal Ross-shire clans, together with the clan Alpin, who are brought from Cormac Mac Oirbertaigh.

The second general tradition deduced the clans from the heroes of Scottish and Irish history.

The next system of traditionary origins which was introduced into the Highlands, and which supplanted the former, may be termed the *heroic* system, and may be characterized as deducing many of the Highland clans from the great heroes in the fabulous histories of Scotland and Ireland, by identifying one of these fabulous heroes with an ancestor of the clan of the same name. This system seems to have sprung up very shortly before the date of the MS. before referred to, and to have very soon obtained credit in the Highlands, probably in consequence of the effect of its flattering character upon the national vanity. We can trace the appearance of this system in some of the clans contained in the MS. of 1450. It seems

to have been first adopted by the Macdonalds, who identified two of their ancestors, named Colla and Conn, with Colla Uais and Conn of the hundred battles, two celebrated kings of Ireland. In the Macneills we actually see the change taking place, for while they have preserved their descent in the MS. according to the Irish system, they have already identified their ancestor, who gave his name to the clan, with Neill Naoi Giall, a king of Ireland, who reigned many hundred years before they existed. In the Macgregors we can detect the change taking place in the latter part of the 15th century. In a MS. genealogy written in the year 1512[1], I find that the Macgregors are brought in a direct line from Kenneth Macalpin, a hero famed in fabulous history as the exterminator of the whole Pictish nation; whereas, in the MS. of 1450, we have seen that their origin is very different; so that this change must have taken place between these two periods. The publication of the history of Fordun, and the chronicle of Winton, had given a great popular celebrity to the heroes of Scottish history, and some of the Highland Sennachies finding a tribe of the Macgregors termed Macalpins, probably took advantage of that circumstance, to claim a descent from the great hero of that name. The same cause apparently induced them afterwards to desert their

[1] MS. penes Highland Society of Scotland.

supposed progenitor Kenneth, and to substitute in his place Gregory the Great, a more mysterious, and therefore, perhaps, in their idea, a greater hero than Kenneth.

A similar change may be observed in the traditionary origin of the Macintoshes, Mackenzies, Macleans, &c.; the Macintoshes, who, in the MS. of 1450, are made a part of the clan Chattan, and descended from Gillechattan Mor, the great progenitor of that race, appear soon after to have denied this descent, and to have claimed as their ancestor, Macduff, the Thane of Fife, himself a greater and more romantic hero even than Kenneth Macalpin. They were, however, unfortunate in this choice, as in later times the very existence of Macduff has with some reason been doubted, and they were perhaps induced to choose him from the fact that the late earls of Fife possessed extensive property in their neighbourhood, and also that there is some reason for thinking that the earls of Fife were actually a branch of the same race.

Not to multiply instances of the change of the traditionary origins to this system, I shall only mention at present the Mackenzies and the Macleans, who, probably, from finding the Scotch field occupied, took a wider flight, and claimed descent from a certain Colin Fitzgerald, a scion of the noble family of Kildare, who is said to have greatly contributed to the victory at Largs in 1266. This origin, it has been seen, was altogether unknown in 1450, at which

period the Mackenzies were universally believed to have been a branch of the Rosses.

The last tradition assigns Norman and Norwegian ancestors to many of the clans.

The *last* system of Highland origins did not appear till the seventeenth century, and is not the production of the Highland Sennachies. It may be termed the Norwegian or Danish system, and sprung up at the time when the fabulous history of Scotland first began to be doubted; when it was considered to be a principal merit in an antiquary, to display his scepticism as to all the old traditions of the country; and when the slender knowledge of the true history, which they did possess, produced in their minds merely a vague idea of the immense extent of the Norwegian conquests and settlements in the north of Scotland. Not only was every thing imputed to the Danes, but every one was supposed to be descended from them. This idea, however, never obtained any great credit in the Highlands. The greatest efforts of the favourers of this system was that of making the Macleods the direct descendants of the Norwegian kings of Mann and the Isles, a descent, for which there is not a vestige of authority. Besides this, I possess a MS. genealogy of the Macleods, written in the sixteenth century, in which there is no mention whatever of such an origin[1]. I may also mention the Camerons, who are said to be descended from Cambro, a Dane; the Grants from Acquin de Grandt, a Dane; the Mac-

[1] MS. penes Highland Society of Scotland.

donalds from the Norwegians of the Isles; the Campbells from de Campo-Bello, a Norman; and many others, but all of which are equally groundless, as will be shewn in the sequel.

Such is a short view of the different systems of descent which have sprung up in the Highlands, and of the causes which apparently led to their being adopted; and from these few remarks which have been made upon the origin of the Highland clans, we may draw two conclusions. In the *first* place, we may conclude that circumstances may cause the traditionary origin of the different Highland clans to change, and a new origin to be introduced, and gradually to obtain general belief; and arguing from analogy, the real origin of the Highlanders may be lost, and a different origin, in itself untrue, may be received in the country as the true one. Farther, in this way there may be a succession of traditions in the Highland families, all of them differing equally from each other and from the truth. In the *second* place, we may conclude, that although the general system of the origin of the clans contained in a MS. may be false, yet the farther back we go, there appears a stronger and more general belief that the Highland clans formed a peculiar and distinct nation, possessing a community of origin, and also, that throwing aside the general systems, the affinities of the different clans to each other have been through all their changes uniformly preserved.

The old MS. genealogies merely prove that the Highland clans possessed a common origin.

Such being the case, it is manifest that we should consider these old MS. genealogies merely as affording proof that the Highland clans were all of the same race, and that in order to ascertain what that race was, we should look to other sources. It has already been shewn, from historic authority, that the Highlanders of the tenth century were the descendants of the Northern Picts of the seventh and eighth.

The clans in reality descended from the great tribes of the tenth and eleventh centuries, whose chiefs were afterwards termed earls.

Now, when it appears that the Highlanders at that time were divided into several great tribes inhabiting those northern districts which were afterwards known as earldoms, and that these tribes had hereditary chiefs, who appear in the chronicles in connexion with their respective districts, under the title of Maormors—and when it also appears that in many of the districts these Maormors of the tenth century can be traced down in succession to the reign of David I., at which time, in compliance with the Saxon customs then introduced, they assumed the title of Comes, and became the first earls in Scotland:—and when it can be shewn that in a few generations more, almost all of these great chiefs became extinct in the male line; that Saxon nobles came by marriage into possession of their territories and honours; and that then the different clans appear for the first time in these districts, and in independence; we are irresistibly drawn to the conclu-

sion, that the Highland clans are not of different or of foreign origin, but that they were a part of the original nation, who have inhabited the mountains of Scotland as far back as the memory of man, or the records of history can reach—that they were divided into several great tribes possessing their hereditary chiefs; and that it was only when the line of these chiefs became extinct, and Saxon nobles came in their place, that the Highland clans appeared in the peculiar situation and character in which they were afterwards found.

This conclusion, to which we have arrived by these general arguments, is strongly corroborated by a very remarkable circumstance: for, notwithstanding that the system of an Irish or Dalriadic origin of the Highland clans had been introduced as early as the beginning of the fifteenth century, we can still trace the existence in the Highlands, even as late as the sixteenth century, of a still older tradition than that contained in the MS. of 1450; a tradition altogether distinct and different from that one, and one which not only agrees in a singular manner with the system developed in this Work, but which also stamps the Dalriadic tradition as the invention of the Scottish monks, and accounts for its introduction.

A tradition of a Pictish descent can be traced in the Highlands.

The first proof of the existence of this tradition which I shall bring forward, is contained in a letter dated 1542, and addressed to King Henry VIII. of England, by a person designating himself "John

Elder, clerk, a Reddschanke." It will be necessary, however, to premise that the author uses the word "*Yrische*" in the same sense in which the word *Erse* was applied to the Highlanders, his word for Irish being differently spelt. In that letter he mentions the "Yrische lords of Scotland, *commonly callit* REDD SCHANKES, and by *historiagraphouris*, PICTIS." He then proceeds to give an account of the origin of the Highlanders; he describes them as inhabiting Scotland "befor the incummynge of Albanactus Brutus second sonne," and as having been "gyauntes and wylde people without ordour, civilitie, or maners, and *spake none other language but* Yrische;" that they were civilized by Albanactus from whom they were "callit Albonyghe." And after this account of their origin, he adds, "which derivacion the papistical curside spiritualitie of Scotland, *will not heir* in no maner of wyse, nor confesse that ever *such a kynge, namede Albanactus reagnedether*, the which derivacion all the Yrische men of Scotland, which be the *auncient stoke*, cannot, nor will not denye."

He then proceeds to say, "But our said bussheps drywithe Scotland and theme selfes, from a certain lady namede Scota, which (as they alledge) came out of Egipte, a maraculous hote cuntreth, to recreatt hirself emonges theame in the colde ayre of Scotland, *which they can not afferme by no probable auncient author*." From the extracts which have been made from this curious author, it will at once be

seen, that there was at that time in Scotland *two* conflicting traditions regarding the origin of the Reddschankes or Highlanders, the one supported by the Highlanders of the "*more auncient stoke*," the other by the "curside spiritualitie of Scotland;" and from the indignation and irritation which he displays against the "bussheps" it is plain that the latter tradition was fast gaining ground, and must indeed have generally prevailed. The last tradition is easily identified with that contained in the MS. of 1450, and consequently there must have existed among the purer Highlanders a still older tradition by which their origin was derived from the "*Pictis*."

The existence of such a tradition in Scotland at the time is still farther proved by Stapleton's Translation of the Venerable Bede, which was written in 1550. In that translation he renders the following passage of Bede, "Cugus monasterium in cunctis pene septentrionalium Scottorum et omnium *Pictorum* monasteriis non parvo tempore arcem tenebat," as follows;—"The house of his religion was no small time the head house of all the monasteries of the northern Scottes, and of the abbyes of all the REDDSCHANKES." It would be needless to multiply quotations to shew that the Highlanders were at that time universally known by the term Reddschankes.

The accordance of the oldest tradition which can be traced in the country, with the conclusion to which a strict and critical examination of all the ancient authorities on the subject had previously brought us,

forms a body of evidence regarding the true origin of the Highlanders of Scotland to which the history of no other nation can exhibit a parallel. The authority of John Elder, however, not only proves the tradition of the descent of the Highlanders from the Picts, to have existed in the Highlands before the Irish or Dalriadic system was introduced, but we can even ascertain from him the origin of the later system, and the cause of its obtaining such universal belief.

It appears from John Elder's letter, that the clergy of Scotland asserted the descent of the Highlanders from the Scots of Dalriada, and that the older Highland families held a different tradition, which agrees with the system contained in this Work. The object of John Elder's letter, however, was to assure the King of England of support in the Highlands in his plans of obtaining influence in Scotland, and the Highland chiefs who held this older tradition are just those whom he afterwards names to King Henry as in the English interest. Now it is very remarkable, that the first trace of the Dalriadic system which we can discover, is in the famous letter addressed to the Pope in 1320 by the party who asserted the independence of Scotland. To this party the clergy of Scotland unquestionably belonged, while it is equally clear that the Highland chiefs, with very few exceptions, belonged to the English party; and upon comparing the traditionary history upon which Edward I. founded his claim, and which

of course his party in Scotland must have believed, we actually find it to be a part of the same tradition which John Elder asserts to have been held by the older Highland families, and which included a belief of their descent from the Picts. The cause of the prevalence of the Scottish story is now clear; for the question of the independence of Scotland having been most improperly placed by the two parties on the truth of their respective traditions, it is plain that as the one party fell, so would the tradition which they asserted; and that the final supremacy of the independent party in the Highlands, as well as in the rest of Scotland, and the total ruin of their adversaries, must have established the absolute belief in the descent of the Highlanders, as well as the kings and clergy of Scotland, from the Scots of Dalriada.

We see, however, from John Elder, that, notwithstanding the succession of false traditions which prevailed in the Highlands at different times, traces of the true one were still to be found.

This remark, however, is true also of the traditionary origins of individual clans, as well as of the Highlanders in general; for although tradition assigns to them an origin which is untrue, still we can invariably trace in some part of that tradition the real story, although it assumes a false aspect and colouring from its being connected with a false tradition.

The most remarkable instance of this occurs in

those clans who assert a Scandinavian or Norman origin; for we invariably find, in such cases, that their tradition asserted a marriage of the foreign founder of their race with the heiress of that family of which they were in reality a branch. Thus, the Macintoshes assert that they are descended from the Earl of Fife, and obtained their present lands by marriage with the heiress of clan Chattan, and yet they can be proved to have been from the beginning a branch of that clan. The Campbells say that they are a Norman family, who married the heiress of Paul O'Duibhne, lord of Lochow, and yet they can be proved to be descended from the O'Duibhnes. The Grants, who are a sept of the clan Alpin, no sooner claimed a foreign descent from the Danish Acquin de Grandt, than they asserted that their ancestor had married the heiress of *Macgregor*, lord of Freuchie; the Camerons and Mackenzies, when they assumed the Danish Cambro and the Norman Fitzgerald for their founders, asserted a marriage with the heiresses of Macmartin and Matheson, of which families they can be proved to have been severally descended in the male line. The first thing which strikes us as remarkable in this fact is, that the true tradition invariably assumes the *same* aspect, although that a false one, with regard to *all* the clans; and there is also another fact with regard to these clans which will probably throw some light upon the cause of the adoption of a false tradition, and the singular and unvarying aspect which the true one assumes—viz.,

that most of the families who assert a foreign origin, and account for their position at the head of a Highland clan by a marriage with the heiress of its chief, are just those very families, and no other, whom we find using the title of captain; and that the family who oppose their title to the chiefship invariably assert a male descent from the chief whose daughter they are said to have married. The word captain implies a person in actual possession of the leading of the clan who has no right by blood to that station; and it will afterwards be proved that every family who used the title of captain of a particular clan, were the oldest cadets of that clan, who had usurped the leading of it, to the prejudice of the chief by blood. Now as the identity of the false aspect which the true tradition assumes in all of these cases, implies that the cause was the same in all, we may assume that wherever these too circumstances are to be found combined, of a clan claiming a foreign origin, and asserting a marriage with the heiress of a Highland family, whose estates they possessed and whose followers they led, they must invariably have been the oldest cadet of that family, who by usurpation or otherwise had become *de facto* chief of the clan, and who covered their defect of right by blood by denying their descent from the clan, and asserting that the founder of their house had married the heiress of its chief.

The genela deduction from the MS. genealogies of the Highland clans is, that the various clans were

divided into several great tribes, the clans forming each of these separate tribes being deduced by the genealogies from a common ancestor, while a marked distinction is drawn between the different tribes, and indications can at the same time be traced in each tribe, which identify them with the earldoms or maormorships into which the north of Scotland was anciently divided.

This will appear from the following Table of the distribution of the clans by the old genealogies into different tribes:—

I. Descendants of Conn of the Hundred Battles.

The *Lords of the Isles*, or Macdonalds.	The Maclauchlans.
The Macdougalls.	The Macewens.
The Macneills.	The Maclaisrichs.
	The Maceacherns.

II. Descendants of Ferchar Fata Mac Feradaig.

The *Old Maormors* of *Moray*.	The Macphersons.
The Macintoshes.	The Macnauchtons.

III. Descendants of Cormac Mac Oirbertaig.

The *Old Earls* of *Ross*.	The Mackinnons.
The Mackenzies.	The Macquarries.
The Mathiesons.	The Macnabs.
The Macgregors.	The Macduffies.

IV. Descendants of Fergus leith dearg.

The Macleods.	The Campbells.

V. Descendants of Krycul.

The Macnicols.

In the following notices of the Highland clans we shall take the various great tribes into which the Highlanders were originally divided, and which are identic with the old earldoms, in their order; and after giving a sketch of the history and fall of their ancient chiefs or earls, we shall proceed, under the head of each tribe, to the different clans which formed a part of that tribe, and then for the first time appeared in independence.

CHAPTER II.

I. The Gallgael.

The Gallgael. WHEN the Norse Sagas and Irish Annals first throw their steady though faint light upon the history of the north of Scotland, we can distinctly trace, in the restless warfare at that period excited by the incessant incursions of the northern pirates, the frequent appearance of a people termed by the Irish annalists the Gallgael, or Gaelic pirates. The northern pirates were at that time known to the Irish writers by the name of Fingall and Dugall, the former being applied to the Norwegians, the latter to the Danes. The word Gall, originally signifying a stranger, came to be applied to every pirate, and we find a strong distinction invariably implied between the white and the black Galls, and those to whom they added the name of Gael, or Gaelic Galls. The latter people are first mentioned in the Irish Annals in the year 855, when we find them assisting the Irish against the Norwegians; and in the following year they again appear under their leader, Caittil fin, or the white, at war with the Norwegian pirate kings of Dublin. In 1034, Tighernac mentions the death of Suibne, the son of Kenneth, king

of the Gallgael; and in 1154 we find mention made of an expedition to Ireland by the "Gallgael of Arran, Kintyre, Man, and the Cantair Alban." This last passage proves that the Gallgael were the inhabitants of the Isles and of Argyll, the expression Cantair Alban being equivalent to the Oirir Alban or Oirir Gael of other writers, and to the Ergadia of the Scottish historians; and as Arefrodi, the oldest Norse writer which we possess, mentions the occupation of the Western Isles, on the departure of Harold Harfagr, by Vikingr Skotar, a term which is an exact translation of the appellation Gallgael, it seems clear that the Gallgael must have possessed the Isles as well as Argyll, from the period of the Scottish conquest, in the ninth century, to the middle of the twelfth, while the expression of Are frodi equally clearly implies that they were native Scots and not Norwegians.

The Gallgael were certainly independent in the ninth century, and also in the beginning of the eleventh, when a king of the race is mentioned; it is therefore not improbable that the kings of the Isles between these periods were of this race. The first king of the Isles who is mentioned is Anlaf, who attempted, in conjunction with Constantine, the Scottish king, to obtain possession of Northumberland, but was defeated by Athelstan, the Saxon king, at Brunanburgh, in 938. Anlaf is styled by the Saxon historians, Rex plurimarum insularum, and that he was king of the Western Isles, and of the same race

with the Gallgael, is put beyond all doubt by the Egïlla Saga, which ancient document not only calls him a king in Scotland, but expressly states that he had Danish blood from his mother, who was a Dane, and a descendant of Regnar Lodbrog, but that *his father was a native Scot*[1]. Anlaf was the son of Sidroc, who was put by the Danes in possession of Northumberland; and as Anlaf is called by the Irish writers grandson of Ivar, and it is well known that Ivar was a son of Regnar. Lodbrog, it follows from the passage in the Egïlla Saga, that Sidroc must have been a native Scot of the race of the Gallgael, who married the daughter of Ivar, the principal leader of the Danish pirates, and was made by him king of the Northumbrians. But it would farther appear that Sidroc was the brother of the king of the Gallgael, for the Saxon historians mention, in 914, the death of *Nial rex* by his brother Sidroc. Sidroc was at this time in possession of Northumberland, so that king Nial was probably the king of the Gallgael, and on his unnatural death was succeeded by his nephew Anlaf.

In ascertaining the earlier kings of this race we are assisted by the Manx traditions. Sacheveral; in his curious work on the Isle of Man, mentions that there was a very old tradition, that previous to the conquest of the island by Godred Crovan, in the end

[1] Egilla Saga.—Olafr Raudi het konungr a Skotlandi hann var *Skotzkr at faudr kyni* enn *Danskr at modur kyni* oc kominn af aett Ragnars Lodbrokar.

of the eleventh century, it was ruled by twelve successive kings of the same race, the first of whom was named Orree, and conquered the island about the middle of the ninth century. This tradition is very remarkably confirmed, for we recognise in the names of these kings the kings of the Isles of the race of Sidroc, of whom Anlaf is the first mentioned by the historians, while the first of them is said to have conquered Man at the very time when, as we have seen, the Gallgael took possession of the Western Isles. The accuracy of the tradition, however, is still farther evinced by the fact that the Lodbrogar quida, an authentic and almost contemporary record of the piratical expeditions of Regnar Lodbrog, in describing an attack upon the Western Isles by Regnar, in 850, actually mentions that he slew Aurn conungr, or king Aurn at Isla. The resemblance of name is sufficient to identify him with the Orree of the Manx tradition, and it would thus appear that the Gallgael, a native tribe, had, under their king Orree, or Aurn, taken possession of the Western Isles and Man shortly after the date of the Scottish conquest in 843. It is now clear who these Gallgael were, for they possessed Argyll as well as the Isles; and it has been previously shewn, that the whole of Argyll was, immediately after the Scottish conquest in 843, possessed by the tribe of the Caledonii[1], who had previously inhabited the districts of Atholl, Lochaber, and North Argyll. The Pictish

[1] See Vol. I. p. 102.

origin of the Gallgael is, however, established by another circumstance. The territories occupied by the Gallgael in the ninth century constituted exactly the diocese of Dunkeld. The first measure of Kenneth M'Alpin, on his conquest of the southern Picts, was to establish the Culdee Church over the whole of the conquered territory, and in consequence of this great extension of that church, he found it necessary to remove the primacy from Iona to Dunkeld. With this church the primacy remained until the reign of Grig, when the primacy was removed from Dunkeld to St. Andrew's; and the Scots appear to have obtained the removal of their subjection to the diocese of Dunkeld, as the price of their submission to the usurper Grig. The expression of the chronicle in narrating this event is remarkable—

> "Qui dedit *Ecclesiæ* libertates *Scoticanæ*,
> Quæ sub *Pictorum* lege redacta fuit;"[1]

and the inference is clear that the inhabitants of the diocese of Dunkeld at least, that is, the Gallgael, were at that time Picts. The early history of this tribe is now sufficiently clear: on the conquest of the southern Picts by the Scots, they obtained possession of Dalriada, which, along with their previous possessions of Lochaber and Wester Ross, now received the appellation of Oirir Gael, or the Coastlands of the Gael, probably in contradistinction to their inland possessions of Atholl; and a

[1] Chron. Eleg.

few years afterwards they added the Western Isles to their now extensive territories. Here their king Aurn was slain by Regnar. As Regnar immediately after this attacked the Fingall in Ireland, and continued at war with them for some years; and as at the same period we find the Gallgael, under their leader Caittil fin, also engaged in hostilities with the Fingall, it is probable that Regnar had compelled them to join him, and that it was in consequence of this union, and of the pirate life which they were compelled to adopt, that they obtained the Irish name of Gallgael, and the Norse appellation of the Vikingr Skotar. On the arrival of the sons of Regnar, in 865, to avenge their father's death, Caittil appears to have joined them with his Gallgael, and is probably the same person with the Oskytel, whom the Saxon historians mention as one of the leaders in that expedition. His successor was Neil, who was put to death by his own brother Sidroc, who, having married the daughter of Ivar, the son of Regnar Lodbrog, had, on the success of the expedition, been put in possession of Northumberland. On Sidroc's death, his son Anlaf found himself unable to retain possession of Northumberland, but held the Scottish territories of his race, from whence he made two unsuccessful attempts to regain Northumberland. The next king of the Isles mentioned by the historians, is Maccus, styled by the Saxon writers "rex plurimarum insularum," and by the Irish writers, the son of Arailt. It appears from the same writers

that he was Anlaf's nephew, for they style Arailt the grandson of Ivar and son of Sidroc. Maccus was succeeded by his brother, Godfrey Mac Arailt, who was slain in an Irish expedition in 987, and not long after his death the Isles were conquered, along with a considerable part of the north of Scotland, by Sigurd, the earl of Orkney. Among the Scottish earls mentioned by the Sagas as reconquering the north of Scotland from Sigurd, is Hundi or Kenneth. He was probably the same Kenneth who was father of Suibne, king of the Gallgáel in 1034, and at the same time must have been son of Godfrey, as we find Ranald Mac Godfrey king of the Isles in 1004. On Ranald's death, in 1004, Suibne, the son of Kenneth, reigned over this tribe until 1034, when, as his death exactly synchronises with the conquest of the Isles and the whole of the north of Scotland by Thorfinn, the earl of Orkney, it would appear that he had been slain by that powerful earl in the unsuccessful defence of his territories. From this period there is no mention of any king of the Gallgael, and it is certain that the subsequent kings of the Isles were not of this race. It is therefore apparent that this petty kingdom never afterwards rose to the same state in which it had been before the conquest of Thorfinn, and that the different septs into which the tribe became separated on the death of their king in 1034, never again united under one head. We shall now, therefore, trace the origin and history of the various septs whom we find inha-

A.D. 993.

biting these districts at a later period, under the two great divisions of Argyll and Atholl.

ARGYLL.

The ancient district of Argyll consisted of the present county of that name, together with the districts of Lochaber and Wester Ross, and was known to the Highlanders by the name of the Cantair, or Oirir, Alban, and sometimes of Oirirgael, whence the present name is derived. The present district of Wester Ross was termed by them Oirir an tuath, or the Northern coastlands, and the remaining part received the name of the Oirir an deas, or Southern coastlands. From the previous history of this district, it is probable that this name was derived from its forming the maritime part of the territories of the Gallgael, in opposition to their inland possessions of Atholl. By the historians, the whole of this extensive district is included under the term of Ergadia, and the northern and southern divisions under those of Ergadia Borealis and Ergadia Australis. When the Saxon polity of sheriffdoms was introduced into Scotland, the government had not such a secure footing in the Highlands as to enable them to distribute it into numerous sheriffdoms, and thus to force obedience to the laws, by means of the sheriffs, every where established, as they did in the Lowlands. Such a subjection to royal authority in the person of sheriffs could only in the Highlands be a nominal one, but the principles of the Saxon polity then in-

troduced, required that the whole country should either nominally or really be distributed into sheriffdoms, and accordingly the whole of the Highlands was divided into two, the districts north of the Mounth forming the sheriffdom of Inverness, while those south of that range were included in the sheriffdom of Perth. In this state the Highlands remained till the reign of Alexander II., divided into two sheriffdoms, each of which in extent resembled more a petty kingdom than the sheriffdom of the rest of the country; and that sheriff-making monarch revived the Saxon policy of bringing conquered districts under permanent subjection to the laws and government, by erecting them into a new and separate sheriffdom, and thus arose the additional shires of Elgin, Nairn, Banff, Cromarty, and Argyll. In this way, previous to the reign of Alexander II., the districts of North and South Argyll were included in separate shires, the former being in Inverness, the latter in Perth. To the Norse the whole district was known by the name of Dala, under which appellation it is first mentioned in the end of the tenth century, and is included among the conquests of Sigurd, the second of that name, Earl of Orkney, and the same term is used by the Norse writers for this district down to the end of the twelfth century. In 1093 the Western Isles were conquered by Magnus Barefoot, king of Norway, and the conquest was confirmed to him by Malcolm Kenmore, then commencing the expedition into England, in which he

lost his life, who resigned to Magnus all the Western Isles round which he could sail in a boat of a particular size, but Magnus causing his boat to be dragged across the isthmus which unites Kintyre and Knapdale, asserted that the former district came within the description of those which were resigned to him, and thus was Kintyre separated from Argyll[1], and united to the kingdom of the Isles, of which it ever afterwards formed a part. This great district of Argyll was inhabited by a number of powerful clans, of which the most potent were the Macdonalds and other clans of the same race, who exercised for a long period an almost regal sway in these regions, and who were anciently included under the general designation of the Siol Cuinn, or race of Conn, a remote ancestor of the tribe.

SIOL CUINN.

This tribe was one far too distinguished to escape the grasping claims of the Irish Sennachies, and accordingly it appears to have been among the very first to whom an Irish origin was imputed; but later antiquaries, misled by the close connection which at all times subsisted between the Macdonalds and the Norwegians of the Isles, have been inclined rather to consider them as of Norwegian origin. Neither of these theories, however, admit of being borne out either by argument or authority. The followers of

[1] Magnus Barefoot's Saga.

the Irish system can only produce a vague tradition in its support against the manifest improbability of the supposition that a tribe possessing such extensive territories in Scotland should have been of foreign origin, while history is altogether silent as to the arrival of any such people in the country. Besides this, it has been formerly shewn that there is reason to regard the Irish traditions in Scotland as of but late origin. As to the Norwegian theory, it has principally arisen from its supporters having overlooked the fact, that when the Danish and Norwegian pirates ravaged the shores of Scotland, and brought its inhabitants under their subjection, the conquered Gael adopted in some degree the Norwegian habits of piracy, and took frequently an active share in their predatory expeditions. These Gael are termed, as we have seen in the Irish Annals, Gallgael, or the Norwegian Gael, to distinguish them from those Gael who were independent of the Norwegians, or who took no part in their expeditions, and we have every reason to think consisted principally of the Siol Cuinn.

The traditions of the Macdonalds themselves tend to shew that they could not have been of foreign origin. The whole of the Highlands, and especially the districts possessed by the Gallgael, were inhabited by the northern Picts, as we have seen, at least as late as the eleventh century. In the middle of the twelfth, the Orkneyinga Saga terms Somerled and his sons, who were the chiefs of this tribe, the Dalveria

Aett, or Dalverian family, a term derived from Dala, the Norse name for the district of Argyll, and which implies that they had been for some time indigenous in the district; and this is confirmed in still stronger terms by the Flatey-book, consequently the Macdonalds were either the descendants of these Pictish inhabitants of Argyll, or else they must have entered the country subsequently to that period.

But the earliest traditions of the family uniformly bear that they had been indigenous in Scotland from a much earlier period than that. Thus, James Macdonell, of Dunluce, in a letter written to King James VI., in 1596, has this passage—"Most mightie and potent prince, recomend us unto your hieness with our service for ever your grace shall understand that our forebears hathe been from time to time[1] your servants unto your own kingdome of Scotland." And again, in 1615, Sir James Macdonald, of Kintyre, expresses himself, in a letter to the Bishop of the Isles, in these words—"Seeing my race has been *tenne hundred years* kyndlie Scottismen under the kings of Scotland—." Although many other passages of a similar nature might be produced, these instances may for the present suffice to shew that there existed a tradition in this family of their having been natives of Scotland from time immemorial; and it is therefore scarcely possible to suppose that they could have entered the country subsequently to the

[1] The expression of "from time to time", when it occurs in ancient documents, always signifies from time immemorial.

ninth century. But besides the strong presumption that the Macdonalds are of Pictish descent, and formed a part of the great tribe of the Gallgael, we fortunately possess distinct authority for both of these facts. For the former, John Elder includes the Macdonalds among the ancient Stoke, who still retained the tradition of a Pictish descent, in opposition to the later tradition insisted in by the Scottish clergy, and this is sufficient evidence for the fact that the oldest tradition among the Macdonalds must have been one of a Pictish origin. The latter appears equally clear from the last mention of the Gallgael, in which they are described as the inhabitants of Argyll, Kintyre, Arran, and Man; and as these were at this very period the exact territories which Somerled possessed, it follows of necessity that the Macdonalds were the same people.

The identity of the Gallgael with the tribe over which Somerled ruled as hereditary chief, being thus established, the independent kings of the Gallgael must in all probability have been his ancestors, and ought to be found in the old genealogies of the family. The last independent king of the Gallgael was Suibne, the son of Kenneth, whose death is recorded in 1034, and exactly contemporary with this Suibne, the MS. of 1450, places a Suibne among the ancestors of Somerled; accordingly, as the Gallgael and the Macdonalds were the same tribe, the two Suibnes must have been meant for the same person. But the MS. makes the name of Suibne's

father to have been Nialgusa, and there does not occur a Kenneth in the genealogy at all. As an authority upon this point, Tighernac must be preferred, and his account is corroborated by most of the old Scottish writers, who mention the existence at that time of a Kenneth Thane of the Isles; and farther, at the very same period, as we have seen, one of the northern Maormors who opposed Sigurd, earl of Orkney, was named Kenneth. We must consequently receive Tighernac's account as the most accurate; but above Kenneth we find the two accounts again different, for there is no resemblance whatever between the previous kings of the Gallgael and the earlier part of the Macdonald genealogies; and the MS. of 1450, without mentioning any of these kings at all, leads the genealogy amongst the Irish kings and heroes.

Here then we have the point where the fabulous genealogies of the Highland and Irish Sennachies were connected with the genuine history.

The MS. of 1450 is supported in its genealogy of the Macdonalds by all other authorities up to Suibne, and here the true history, as contained in the Irish Annals and the genealogy of the MS., separate; the one mentions the Gallgaels under their leaders as far back as the year 856, while the other connects Suibne by a different genealogy altogether with the Irish kings. It is obvious, then, that this is the point where the Irish genealogies were connected with the real line of the chiefs, and an examination

of this MS. will shew that the period where the genealogies of the other clans were also connected with the Irish kings was the same. We may therefore conclude, that previous to the eleventh century the MS. of 1450, and the Irish genealogies of the Highland clans, are of no authority whatever, and consequently, that the Siol Cuinn is of native origin.

After the death of Suibne we know nothing of the history of the clan until we come to Gille Adomnan, the grandfather of Somerled, who, according to the fragment of an ancient Gaelic MS., was driven out of his possession in Scotland by the violence of the Lochlans and Fingalls, and took refuge in Ireland. The expedition of Magnus Barefoot in 1093 is probably here alluded to. The same authority proceeds to inform us, that "whilst Gillebride Mac Gille Adomnan was residing in Ireland, the descendants of Colla, consisting of the Macquarries and Macmahones, held a great meeting and assembly in Fermanagh, the county of Macquire, regarding Gillebride's affairs, how they might restore to him his patrimony, which had been abdicated from the violence of the Lochlan and Fingalls. When Gillebride saw such a large body of the Macquires assembled together, and that they were favourable to his cause, he besought them to embark in his quarrel, and to assist the people in Scotland who were favourable to him in an attempt to win back the possession of the country. The people declared themselves willing to go, and four or five hundred put themselves under

his command. With this company Gillebride proceeded to Alban, and came on shore——."[1] Here, unfortunately, the fragment concludes abruptly, but it would appear that this expedition was unsuccessful, for another MS. history of considerable antiquity, but of which the beginning is also lost, commences with these words—"Somerled, the son of Gilbert, began to muse on the low condition and misfortune to which he and his father were reduced, and kept at first very retired." But Somerled was a person of no ordinary talents and energy; he put himself at the head of the inhabitants of Morven, and by a series of rapid attacks he succeeded, after a considerable struggle, in expelling the Norwegians, and in making himself master of the whole of Morven, Lochaber, and North Argyll. He soon afterwards added the southern districts of Argyll to his other possessions, and David I. having at this period conquered the islands of Man, Arran, and Bute, from the Norwegians, he appears to have held these islands of the king of Scotland; but still finding himself unable, in point of strength, to cope with the Norwegians of the Isles, he, with true Highland policy, determined to gain these ancient possessions of his family by peaceful succession, since he could not acquire them by force of arms; and accordingly with that intent he prevailed, by a singular stratagem, in obtaining the hand of the

A.D. 1035.

[1] MS. penes Highland Society of Scotland.

daughter of Olaf the Red, the Norwegian king of the Isles, in marriage. Of this union the fruit was three sons, Dugall, Reginald, and Angus; by a previous marriage he had an only son, Gillecolum.

Somerled, having now attained to very great power in the Highlands, resolved to make an attempt to place his grandsons, the sons of Winiund or Malcolm M'Heth, who had formerly claimed the earldom of Moray, in possession of their alleged inheritance. This unfortunate earldom seems to have been doomed by fate to become, during a succession of many centuries, the cause of all the rebellions in which Scotland was involved; and it now brought the Regulus of Argyll, as Somerled is termed by the Scottish historians, for the first time in opposition to the king. Of the various events of this war we are ignorant, but from the words of an ancient chronicle it appears to have excited very great alarm among the inhabitants of Scotland. In all probability Somerled had found it expedient to return speedily to the Isles, by the recurrence of events there of more immediate importance to himself than the project of establishing his grandsons in their inheritance; for Godred, the Norwegian king of the Isles, and brother-in-law to Somerled, having at this time given loose to a tyrannical disposition, and having irritated his vassals by dispossessing some of their lands, and degrading others from their dignities, Thorfinn, the son of Ottar, one of the most powerful of the Norwegian nobles, determined to depose Godred, as the only

means of obtaining relief, and to place another king on the throne of the Isles. For this purpose Thorfin went to Somerled, and requested that he might have Dugall, his eldest son, who was Godred's nephew by his sister, in order to make him king in his place. Somerled rejoiced at the prospect of thus at last obtaining his object, and delivered up Dugall to the care of Thorfinn, who accordingly took the young prince, and conducting him through the Isles, compelled the chiefs of the Isles to acknowledge him for their sovereign, and to give hostages for their allegiance.

One of them, however, Paul Balkason, a powerful nobleman, who was Lord of Sky, refused to make the required acknowledgment, and, flying to the Isle of Man, acquainted Godred with the intended revolution. Alarmed at the intelligence, Godred instantly ordered his vassals to get their ships ready, and without delay sailed to meet the enemy: he found that Somerled had already prepared for the expected struggle, and was advancing towards him with a fleet of eighty galleys. "A sea battle," says the Chronicle of Man, "was fought between Godred and Somerled during the night of the Epiphany, with great slaughter on both sides. Next morning, however, at day-break, they came to a compromise, and divided the sovereignty of the Isles; so from that period they have formed two distinct monarchies till the present time. The ruin of the Isles may be dated from the moment when part

A. D. 1156.

of them were ceded to the sons of Somerled. By this treaty, Somerled acquired all the islands south of the point of Ardnamurchan, but he no sooner found himself in secure possession of these islands, than he was again involved in hostilities with the government, having joined the powerful party in Scotland who at this time determined to dethrone Malcolm IV. and place the Boy of Egremont on the throne; and in prosecution of that design commenced to infest the shores of Scotland with his fleet. On the failure of this attempt, Malcolm appears at length to have discovered that Somerled was becoming too powerful to be permitted to remain in the state of partial independence which he had assumed; he accordingly demanded that Somerled should resign his lands into the king's hands, and hold them in future as his vassal, and he prepared to enforce his demand by the aid of a powerful army. Somerled, however, emboldened by his previous successes, was little disposed to yield compliance to the king's desire, but on the contrary resolved to anticipate the attack. Collecting his fleet accordingly from among the Isles, he soon appeared in the Clyde, and landed at Renfrew. Here he was met by the Scottish army under the command of the High Steward of Scotland, and the result of the battle which ensued, was the defeat and death of Somerled, together with his son Gillecolum.

A. D. 1164.

This celebrated chief is decribed by an ancient Sennachie to have been "a well tempered man, in

body shapely, of a fair piercing eye, of middle stature, and of quick discernment." His territories at his death were very considerable, comprehending the whole of the district of Argyll, the original possession of the clan, and that portion of the Hebrides termed by the Norwegians the Sudreys. These great possessions, which he had acquired by his own personal exertions, did not descend entire to his successor; for, although his grandson Somerled, the son of Gillecolum, succeeded to the whole of his Highland territories, the Isles, with the exception of Arran and Bute, had come to him with his wife, and consequently descended to Dugall, his eldest son by that marriage.

For a period of upwards of fifty years after the death of Somerled, his grandson of the same name[1] appears to have remained in undisturbed possession of the extensive territories on the mainland of Scotland to which he succeeded; and although we do not find him during that period in active rebellion, or offering any decided opposition to the government, yet there is reason to think that he formed the prin-

[1] The Scottish historians and Highland Sennachies are unanimous in asserting, that Somerled was succeeded by another Somerled, who rebelled against Alexander II. in 1221; and their account is confirmed by the anecdotes of Olave the Black, a Norse Saga, which mentions a Somerled a king, and calls him a relation of Duncan, the son of Dugall. I have ventured to call him son of Gillecolum, and grandson of Somerled, as the only probable supposition.

cipal support to the numerous rebellions raised during that period in favour of the rival family of Mac William.

He appears, however, to have rendered a more active assistance to the last attempt made by that family in 1221, and the king probably took advantage of that occasion to make an effort to reduce him more effectually under his power, for in that year, Alexander, having collected an army in Lothian and Galloway, attempted to penetrate the recesses of Argyll by sea, but was beat back by a tempest, and forced to take refuge in the Clyde. On the failure of this attempt, Alexander was not discouraged, but was resolved to attempt an expedition by land. He collected a large army from every quarter, and entered Argyll; and whether it is to be attributed to the military skill of the royal leader, or, as is more probable, to the incompetency of his adversary, and the divisions which have always existed in a Celtic country so extensive as that ruled by him, yet certain it is, that in this year the king made himself master of the whole of Argyll, and Somerled took refuge in the Isles, where he met a violent death eight years afterwards.

A. D. 1221.

According to Winton, the most honest and trustworthy of all our chroniclers,—

> "De kyng that yhere Argyle wan
> Dat rebell wes til hym befor than
> For wythe hys Ost thare in wes he
> And Athe' tuk of thare Fewte,

Wyth thare serwys and thare Homage,
Dat of hym wald hald thare Herytage,
But of the Ethchetys of the lave
To the Lordis of that land he gave."

By "the Lordis of that land" to whom the forfeited estates were given, Winton means the foreign vassals placed there by Alexander, for Fordun is quite distinct that those who had offended the king too deeply to hope for pardon fled, and their properties were bestowed upon those who had followed the army into Argyll. The general effect of this conquest, as it may well be called, was that the district of Argyll was no longer under the rule of a single lord: wherever those who had previously held their possessions as vassals of Somerled submitted to the king and were received into favour, they became crown vassals, and held their lands in chief of the crown, while the estates of those who were forfeited were bestowed as rewards upon many of those who had joined the expedition into Argyll; and from the nature of the expedition, and especially from its complete success, it is probable that these were principally Highlanders. The forfeited estates were farther brought under the direct jurisdiction of the government by being, according to the invariable policy of Alexander II., erected into a sheriffdom by the name of Argyll, and the extent of this, the first sheriffdom bearing that name, enables us to define with certainty the districts which were forfeited by the native lords and bestowed upon strangers.

The sheriffdom of Argyll originally consisted of that part of the country now known as the district of Argyll proper, consisting of the districts of Glenorchy, Lochow, Lochfine, Glassrie, and Ardskeodnish. These were bestowed upon the ancestors of the M'Gregors and Macnauchtans, and of a family, probably Lowland, termed De Glassrie, while the ancestor of the Campbells was made hereditary sheriff of the new sheriffdom. Besides this, the shire of Argyll included part of Lochaber, retained by the crown; the north half of Kintyre, bestowed upon a certain Dufgallus filius Syfin; and the upper half of Cowall given to a Campbell. The whole of Ergadia Borealis or North Argyll was granted to the Earl of Ross, who had rendered powerful assistance to the king both upon this and a former occasion.

The remainder of this great district of Argyll was now held of the crown by those who had formerly been vassals of Somerled, and consisted of Lochaber, held by the chief of the clan Chattan; Lorn, by sons of Dugall, the eldest son of the first Somerled by his second marriage; Knapdale by the ancestor of the Mac Neills; South Kintyre, by Roderick the son of Reginald, second son of Somerled; and the lower half of Cowall, by the ancestor of the Lamonds. These formed no part of the new sheriffdom of Argyll, but remained, as formerly, part of the sheriffdoms of Perth and Inverness.

In this manner was the power of the descendants of Somerled, by the first marriage, on the mainland

completely broken for the time, and the fragments of the clan now looked up to the race of Dugall, the eldest son of the second marriage, who was in undisturbed possession of the share of the Isles acquired by Somerled, as their head. Dugall, the eldest son of this marriage, possessed, besides the Isles, the district of Lorn, as his share of the possessions of his paternal ancestors. But on his death, the Isles did not immediately descend to his children, but appear to have been acquired by his brother Reginald, according to the Highland law of succession, who, in consequence, assumed the title of king of the Isles. By the same laws, the death of Reginald restored to his nephews the inheritance of their father.

Dugall had left two sons, Dugall Scrag and Duncan, who appear in the Norse Sagas, under the title of Sudereyan kings. As the Hebrides were at this time under the subjection of the Norwegian king, the sons of Somerled appear to have nominally acknowledged his authority, but as these Sagas abound in complaints against their fidelity, they seem to have professed submission to either king, as best suited their object for the time, while, in fact, they were in a state of actual independence. This state of matters occasioned Haco, at that time king of Norway, to determine, at length, to reduce these refractory chiefs to obedience; and for this purpose he selected a Norwegian, termed Uspac, gave him the name of Haco, with the title of king, and dispatched

him to the Sudereys, with a Norwegian armament.
A.D. 1230. Upon his arrival at the Hebrides, it was discovered most opportunely for the Sudereyan kings, that Haco Uspac was in fact a son of Dugall, and brother of Dugall Scrag and Duncan, and accordingly, that which was intended for their overthrow, turned to their advantage. But in the meantime, Olave the Swarthy, king of Man, had proceeded to Norway, and had made the king aware of the real state of the case, upon which Haco dispatched him to the Sudereys with another fleet. When he had reached the Sound of Isla, he found the brothers, king Uspac Dugall and Duncan, already there, together with their relation, Somerled, who had taken refuge in the Isles from the power of the king of Scotland. These chiefs, alarmed at the force of the Norwegians, attempted to overcome them by stratagem, and for this purpose "invited them to an entertainment, and provided strong wines," not an uncommon stratagem among the Highlanders. But the Norwegians had suscipion of their good faith, and refused to go, whereupon each of the commanders proceeded to draw their forces together, and in the night the Norwegians made an unexpected attack upon the Sudereyans, in which they succeeded, having slain Somerled, and taken Dugall prisoner, while the other two brothers effected their escape. Uspac, upon this, judged it prudent to submit himself to the Norwegians, and afterwards joined them in their expedition to Bute, where he met his

death in an attack upon a fortress in that island[1]. Duncan was now the only one of his family who retained any power in the Sudereys, but of his farther history nothing is known except the foundation of the priory of Ardchattan, in Lorn. On his death, his son Ewen succeeded to the whole power and territories of this branch of the descendants of Somerled; and he appears to have remained more faithful to the Norwegian king than his predecessors had been, for when Alexander II., king of Scotland, had determined upon making every effort to obtain possession of the Western Isles, and, deeming it of the greatest consequence to win Ewen to his interest, had besought him to give up Kerneburgh, and other three castles, together with the lands which he held of king Haco, to the king of Scotland, adding, that if Ewen would join him in earnest, he would reward him with many greater estates in Scotland, together with his confidence and favour, and although all Ewen's relations and friends pressed him to comply, he declared that he would not break his oath to king Haco, and refused all offers of compromise.

A.D. 1249.

Alexander, it is well known, died in Kerreray, in the commencement of an attack upon the Isles, and his son, Alexander III., when he had attained majority, determined to renew the attempt to obtain possession of the Isles, which his father had com-

[1] This account is taken from the Anecdotes of Olave the Black.

menced. But instead of proceeding in person to the execution of this enterprise, he excited the Earl of Ross, at that time the most powerful nobleman in Scotland, and whose great possessions extended over the mainland opposite to the Northern Isles, to commence hostilities against them, and this earl accordingly, accompanied by the chief of the Mathiesons and other powerful dependents, suddenly crossed over to the Isle of Sky, where he ravaged the country, burned villages and churches, and killed great numbers both of men and women. Upon this, the Sudereyan kings immediately dispatched letters to Haco, complaining of the outrages committed, and acquainting him that it was but part of a plan by which the Scottish king purposed to subdue all the Sudereys, if life was granted to him.

Haco was no sooner aware of the extent of the danger to which his insular dominion was exposed, than he determined to proceed in person to the Hebrides, with all the troops which his means could supply. Upon Haco's appearance, he was at once joined by most of the Highland chiefs, among whom was king Dugall, son of Ronald, the son of Reginald Mac Somerled, and upon his arrival at Gigha, he was met by king Ewen. Haco desired that Ewen should follow his banner, but the politics of that prince had changed in a most unaccountable manner, for he excused himself, and said that he had sworn an oath to the Scottish king, and that he had more lands of him than of the Norwegian monarch,

and therefore he entreated king Haco to dispose of all those estates which he had conferred upon him. The unfortunate termination of Haco's expedition, eventually justified the sagacity at least of Ewen's change, but Haco did not find the other Sudereyan lords so keen sighted or so scrupulous in breaking their oaths as Ewen appeared to be, for he was not only shortly afterwards joined by Angus, lord of Isla and south Kintyre, but even by Murchard, a vassal of the earl of Menteith, in north Kintyre, who had obtained this district from the baron to whom it had been granted by Alexander II. The result of this enterprise is well known to every one, and the defeat of the Norwegians by the Scots at Largs, produced a treaty by which the Isles were finally ceded to the Scottish king[1]. In consequence of Ewen's timely change, this event rather increased than diminished his power, but the ill luck of the Macdonalds, which invariably prevented the concentration of their power in the hands of one family for any length of time, had commenced to display itself, for Ewen died without male issue, and left but two daughters, the eldest of whom had married the Norwegian king of Man, and the second, Alexander of the Isles, a descendant of Reginald.

A.D. 1266.

The failure of the male descendants of Dugall in the person of Ewen had now the effect, in consequence of the well-devised treatment of the con-

[1] Norse account of Haco's expedition.

quered district of Argyll by Alexander II., and subsequent annexation of the Isles to Scotland by his successor, of dividing this great clan into three, the heads of each of which held their lands of the crown. These were the clan Rory, clan Donald, and clan Dugall, severally descended from three sons of these names, of Reginald, the second son of Somerled by his second marriage[1].

CLAN RORY.

On the death of Somerled, although the superiority of Argyll and the Isles fell respectively to his grandson Somerled, and his son Dugall, yet according to the Highland law of gavel, the property of which he died possessed was divided among all his sons, and the portion which fell to Reginald appears to have consisted of Islay among the isles, and Kintyre and part of Lorn on the mainland.

Of the events of Reginald's life little is known, and even that little is not free from uncertainty, for, as he was contemporary with Reginald, the Norwegian king of Man and the Isles, it is nearly impossible to distinguish between the acts of the two princes.

Reginald, however, appears on the death of his brother Dugall, to have been designated "dominus insularum," and sometimes even "rex insularum," and "dominus de Ergile and Kintyre," under which

[1] "Ranald, from whom sprung the Clan Rory, Clan Donald, and Clan Dugall."—MS. of 1450.

title he grants certain lands to the abbey of Saddell, in Kintyre, which he had founded.

These titles, however, did not descend to his children, and he was succeeded in his paternal inheritance by his eldest son, Roderic, who on the conquest of Argyll by Alexander II., considerably increased his powers, by agreeing to hold his lands of the king as crown vassal; and after this period he is generally styled Dominus de Kintyre. Roderick appears to have adopted the Norwegian habits of piracy in their fullest extent, and to have become, in every thing but his birth, one of that race. He was one of the most noted pirates of his day, and the annals of the time are full of the plundering expeditions which he made. In these habits he was not followed by his sons Dugall and Allan. Dugall ruled over his Gaelic possessions in the usual manner of a Celtic chief, and when Ewen had at length agreed, in 1249, to desert the Norwegian interest for that of Scotland, bore the Norwegian title of king of the Isles until his death.

On Haco's expedition to the Western Isles, king Dugall acquired great accession to his territories. Few of the Island chiefs had afforded so much assistance to Haco, or taken such an active part in his expedition as Dugall, and Haco therefore bestowed upon him all those parts of Ewen of Lorn's territories which had fallen into his hands. King Dugall appears to have died without descendants, and his brother Allan succeeded to the possessions of this

branch of the Siol Cuinn. On the cession of the Isles, Allan along with the other Hebridean chiefs transferred their allegiance to Alexander III. of Scotland; for his name is found among the barons in the list of those who assembled at Scoon in 1284, to declare Margaret, the maid of Norway, heiress to the crown; and on that occasion he is designed, "Allangus, filius Roderici." On this occasion, when Alexander appears to have been willing to purchase the support of his nobles to the settlement of the crown on his daughter at any price, the adherence of Allan was obtained by a grant of a great part of the ancient earldom of Garmoran, which remained ever afterwards in this family, and was now known as the lordship of Garmoran. Allan left one son, Roderic, of whose history little is known, but it would appear that he was not considered legitimate by the feudal law, for we find that Allan was succeeded in his lordship of Garmoran by his daughter Christina, although the Highland law, by which Roderic was unquestionably considered legitimate, had still so much influence as in some measure to compel Christina to legalize Roderic's possession of these lands by a formal resignation and regrant. Roderic afterwards incurred the penalty of forfeiture during the reign of Robert Bruce, probably from some connexion with the Soulis conspiracy of 1320. But his lands were restored to his son Ranald by David II. Roderic had but one son, Ranald, and one daughter, Amie, married to John, lord of the Isles. Ranald, however, did not

long enjoy his extensive territories, for holding some lands in North Argyll, of the Earl of Ross, his proximity of situation gave rise to a bitter feud between these powerful chiefs. David II. having in 1346 summoned the barons of Scotland to meet him at Perth, Ranald made his appearance there with a considerable body of troops, and took up his quarters at the monastery of Elcho. William, Earl of Ross, who was also with the army, took this opportunity of revenging himself upon Ranald, and having surprised and entered the monastery in the middle of the night, he slew Ranald with seven of his followers. By the death of Ranald, the descendants of Roderic became extinct, and John of the Isles, the chief of the clan Donald, who had married his sister Amy, became entitled to the succession, to which he immediately laid claim.

CHAPTER III.

The Gallgael, continued.

CLAN DONALD.

THE clan Donald derive their origin from Donald II., son of Reginald. The share of his father's possessions which fell to him appears to have been South Kintyre and Isla, but it is unquestionable that he held these possessions of his brother Roderic, as the head of the house. As the clan Donald were at this time under the sway of the Norwegians, but little is known of their history until the cession of the Isles in 1266. Donald is said by a Highland Sennachie to have gone to Rome for the purpose of obtaining remission for various atrocities of his former life, which he is reported to have obtained with little difficulty, and to have evinced his gratitude by granting lands to the monastery of Saddell, and other ecclesiastical establishments in Scotland. It was during the life of Angus Moir, his son and successor, that the expedition of Haco to the Western Isles took place, and although Angus joined him immediately on his arrival with his fleet, and assisted him during the

whole war, yet, in consequence of the treaty which afterwards took place between the kings of Norway and Scotland, he does not appear to have suffered either in his territories or in his power. He appeared at the convention in 1284, when the maiden of Norway was declared heiress of the crown, when his support appears to have been purchased by a grant of Ardnamurchan, a part of the earldom of Garmoran; and also confirmed his father's and grandfather's grants to the abbey of Saddell, granting additional lands to them himself by not fewer than four charters. Angus left two sons, Alexander and Angus Og. Alexander acquired a considerable addition to his territories by marriage with one of the daughters and co-heiresses of Ewen de Ergadia, the last of the male descendants of Dugall, the son of Somerled; but he unfortunately joined John, the lord of Lorn, in his opposition to the accession of Robert the Bruce, and in consequence became a sharer in the ruin of that great chief. After the defeat of the lord of Lorn at Lochow, and the subsequent siege of Dunstaffnage, king Robert proceeded to crush Alexander of the Isles also. And for this purpose he crossed over the Isthmus of Tarbet and besieged Alexander in Castle Swen, his usual residence. The lord of the Isles was as little able to hold out against the power of the Bruce as the lord of Lorn had been, and he was accordingly obliged to surrender to the king, who immediately imprisoned him in Dundonald castle

where he died. His whole possessions were forfeited and given to his brother Angus Og, who, fortunately for himself and for his clan, had adopted a different line of politics, having followed the party of the Bruce from the very beginning.

After the disastrous defeat at Methven, and the subsequent skirmish of the lord of Lorn at Tyndrum, where the Bruce was obliged to fly, he was received by Angus in his castle of Dúnaverty, and there protected until he was obliged to take refuge in the small island of Rachlin. From this period Angus attached himself to his party, and took a share in all his subsequent enterprises. He assisted in the attack upon Carrick, when "the Bruce wan his father's hall," and was also present at the battle of Bannockburn, where Bruce at length reaped the reward of all his former toils and dangers, on which occasion Angus with his clan seem to have formed the reserve.

"Ye ferd bataile ye noble king
Tuk till his awne governyng,
And had in till his company
Ye men of Carrik halely,
And off Arghile, and of Kentyre,
And off ye Isles, quharof wes syr
Angus off Isle, and but all ya,
He of ye plane land had alsua
Off armyt men a mekyl rout,
His bataile stalwart wes and stout."[1]

[1] Barbour.

As Angus had shared in Bruce's dangers and adversity, so he now reaped the advantage of his success. The extensive territories of the Comyns, and their allies, the lords of Lorn, had fallen into his hands through their forfeiture, and he accordingly bestowed upon Angus the lordship of Lochaber, which had formerly belonged to the Comyns, together with the lands of Durrour and Glencoe, and the islands of Mull, Tiree, &c., which had formed part of the possessions of the Lorn family. Bruce, however, was quite aware that in thus increasing the already extensive possessions of the Isles' family, he was raising up a powerful opponent to the crown; but the services of Angus in his utmost need rendered it impossible for him to withhold these grants, and believing himself secure of Angus's attachment during his life, he endeavoured to neutralize the effects of such an addition to their power by building the castle of Tarbett in Kintyre, which he demanded permission to do as an equivalent for the grants of land he had made. Angus Og of the Isles died in the early part of the fourteenth century, leaving two sons, John, his successor, and John Og, ancestor of the Macdonalds of Glencoe.

Although Angus had throughout his life been a steady friend to the crown, yet when, on his death, any influence, which personal attachment between the king and him might have occasioned had ceased, the causes which had formerly forced this clan into

opposition to the crown, again operated to change the policy of the lords of the Isles, or rather to cause them to resume their former line of conduct. These natural causes of separation were heightened by a dispute between John and the Regent, with regard to some of the lands which had been granted by the Bruce; and John had not been long in possession of the power and dignities of his ancestors before he joined the party of Edward Baliol and the English king. In consequence of this, a formal treaty was concluded between Edward Baliol and John on the 12th of December, 1335, in which Baliol, "quantum in se est," yielded for ever to John and his heirs and assignees, together with the whole of his father's possessions, all title to the lands and islands claimed by the Earl of Murray, (the Regent,) and also gave him the wardship of Lochaber until the majority of the heir of Atholl, at that time only three years old, by whose ancestors it had been forfeited on the accession of Robert Bruce. This indenture was confirmed by Edward III. on the 5th of October, 1336.

The accession to Baliol's party of so great a man as John of the Isles did not, however, prevent the recovery of Scotland, for the regents succeeded eventually in entirely freeing the country from English dominion, and were enabled in 1341 to send for David II. from France to commence his personal reign over his native kingdom, although the lord of the Isles himself was too powerful to suffer

by that revolution. On the return of David II. to his country, he found it of the utmost importance to attach as many of the Scottish barons to his party as possible, and succeeded in concluding a treaty with John of the Isles, who now for the first time found himself not in opposition to the king. But a circumstance soon after occurred very much to increase John's power, and to concentrate in his person nearly the whole of the possessions of his ancestor, Somerled. This circumstance was the slaughter of Ranald of the Isles by the earl of Ross at Perth in the year 1346, by which John of the Isles, who had married his sister Amy, became entitled to the succession, to which he immediately laid claim. Although John was not at this time in opposition to David II., yet the government, notwithstanding the advantage it would derive from the support of so powerful an Highland chief as the Island lord, was well aware of the danger of thus allowing the extensive territories and great power of the Siol Cuinn, which had shaken the stability of the crown under Somerled, to become again united in the person of John, and it was determined to throw every obstacle in his way. John's request was consequently refused, and the government seems to have taken advantage of the death of Amy as an excuse for refusing a title to their lands; and even to have asserted that the marriage upon which it was founded had been irregular, and could not therefore be recognized.

The natural effect of this refusal was to throw John once more into opposition, and to regain for the party of Baliol one of its most powerful adherents, but the attention of the king of England having been soon after diverted from Scotland by the wars in France, and a peace having in consequence been entered into between England and Scotland, John's opposition did not produce any consequences detrimental to the government.

It was not long after this time, that a very extraordinary change took place in the character and situation of the different factions in Scotland, which once more served to detach John of the Isles from the English interest, and to class him among the supporters of Scottish independence. Previously to the return of David II. from captivity in England in 1357, the established government and the principal barons of the kingdom had, with the exception of those periods when Edward Baliol had gained a temporary success, been invariably hostile to the English claims, while it was merely a faction of the nobility, who were in opposition to the court, that supported the cause of Baliol and of English supremacy. John, from the natural causes arising from his situation, and urged by the continued policy of the government being directed towards the reduction of his power and influence, was always forced into opposition to the administration for the time by which this policy was followed, and when the opposing faction consisted of the adherents of the

English interest, the Island lord was naturally found among them, and was thus induced to enter into treaty with the king of England. On the return of David, however, the situation of parties became materially altered; the King of Scotland now ranked as Edward of England's staunchest adherent, and secretly seconded all his endeavours to overturn the independence of Scotland, while the party which had throughout supported the throne of Scotland and the cause of independence were in consequence thrown into active opposition to the crown. The natural consequence of this change was that the lord of the Isles left the party to which he had so long adhered, as soon as it became identified with the royal faction, and was thus forced into connexion with those with whom he had been for so many years at enmity.

The Steward of Scotland, who was at the head of this party, was of course desirous of strengthening himself by means of alliances with the most powerful barons of the country, and he therefore received the accession of so important a person with avidity, and cemented their union by procuring the marriage of the lord of the Isles with his own daughter. John now adhered stedfastly to the party of the steward, and took an active share in all its proceedings, along with the other barons by whom they were joined, but without any open manifestation of force, until the year 1366, when the country was in a state of irritation from the heavy burdens imposed

upon the people in order to raise the ransom of their king, and when the jealousy of David towards the steward had at length broken out so far as to cause the former to throw his own nephew and the acknowledged successor to his throne into prison. The northern barons, who belonged to his party, broke out into open rebellion, and refused to pay their proportion of the general taxation, or attend the parliament, to which they were frequently summoned. Matters appear to have remained in this state, and the northern chiefs to have actually assumed independence for upwards of two years, until David had at last brought himself to apply to the steward as the only person capable of restoring peace to the country, and charged him to put down the rebellion.

In consequence of this appeal, the steward, who was unwilling to be considered as the disturber of the peace of the kingdom, and whose ends were better forwarded by steady opposition to the court party than by open rebellion, took every means in his power to reduce the insurgent noblemen to obedience; but although he succeeded in obtaining the submission of John of Lorn and Gillespie Campbell, and although the earls of Mar and Ross with other northern barons, whose object was gained by the restoration of the steward to freedom, voluntarily joined him in his endeavours, the lord of the Isles refused to submit, and secure in the distance, and in the inaccessible nature of his territories, set the royal power at defiance. But the state of affairs in

France soon after requiring the undivided attention of the English king, he was obliged to come to terms with the Scots, and a peace having been concluded between the two countries on the most favourable terms for the latter, the Scottish government was left at liberty to turn its attention wholly towards reducing the Isles to obedience. In order to accomplish this, David II., well aware of the cause of the rebellion of the Isles, and of the danger of permitting matters to remain in their present position, at length determined, and that with a degree of energy which his character had given little reason to expect, in person to proceed against the rebels, and for this purpose commanded the attendance of the steward with the barons of the realm. But the steward, now perceiving that the continuance of the rebellion of the Isles would prove fatal to his party, by the great influence which he possessed over his son-in-law, succeeded in persuading him to meet the king at Inverness and to submit himself to his authority, and the result of this meeting was a treaty entered into between "Johannes de Yla, dominus insularum" on the one hand, and "David, Dei gratia rex Scotorum" on the other, in which John not only engaged to submit to the royal authority and to take his share of all public burdens, but also to put down all others who dared to raise themselves in opposition to the regal authority. For the fulfilment of this obligation the lord of the Isles not only gave his own oath, but offered the high steward his

father-in-law as security, and delivered his lawful son Donald by the steward's daughter, his grandson Angus by his eldest lawful son John, and a natural son also named Donald, into the hands of the king as hostages

By the accession of Robert Steward to the throne of Scotland, which took place shortly after this event, the lord of the Isles was once more brought into close connexion with the crown, and as John remained during the whole of this reign in a state of as great tranquillity as his father Angus had been during that of Robert Bruce, the policy of thus connecting these turbulent chiefs with the government by the ties of friendship and alliance, rather than that of attempting to reduce them to obedience by force and forfeiture, became very manifest. King Robert, no doubt, saw clearly enough the advantage of following the advice left by Robert Bruce for the guidance of his successors, not to allow the great territories and extensive influence of these Island lords ever again to be concentrated in the person of one individual; but the claims of John were too great to be overlooked, and accordingly Robert had been but one year on the throne, when John obtained from him a feudal title to all those lands which had formerly belonged to Ranald the son of Roderick, and which had so long been refused to him.

In order, however, to neutralize in some degree the effect of thus investing one individual with a feudal title to such extensive territories, and be-

lieving himself secure of the attachment of John during his lifetime, king Robert determined, since he could not prevent the accumulation in one family of so much property, at least by bringing about its division among its different branches, to sow the seeds of future discord, and eventually perhaps of the ruin of the race. He found little difficulty in persuading John, in addition to the usual practice in that family of gavelling the lands among the numerous offspring, to render the children of the two marriages *feudally* independent of each other, a fatal measure, the consequences of which John did not apparently foresee; and accordingly, in the third year of his reign, king Robert confirmed a charter by John to Reginald, the second son of the first marriage, of the lands of Garmoran, which John had acquired by his marriage with Reginald's mother, to be held of John's heirs, that is to say, of the descendants of the eldest son of the first marriage, of whom one had been given as an hostage in 1369, and who would of course succeed to every part of John's possessions which were not feudally destined to other quarters. Some years afterwards John resigned a great part of the western portion of his territories, consisting principally of the lands of Lochaber, Kintyre, and Knapdale, with the island of Colonsay, into the king's hands, and received from him charters of these lands in favour of himself and his heirs by the marriage with the king's daughter; thus rendering the children of the second marriage

feudally independent of those of the first, and furnishing a subject for contention between these families which could not fail to lead to their ruin.

After this period, we know little of the events of John's life, and he appears to have died about the year 1386. During the rest of Robert the Second's reign, and of the greater part of that of Robert III., the peace of the country does not appear to have been disturbed by any act of hostility from the Island chiefs, and consequently the history of the children of John is but little known; but when the dissension which took place between the principal barons of Scotland, in consequence of the marriage of the duke of Rothsay, and the consequent departure of the earl of March to the English court, caused the wars between the two countries once more to break out, and called forth the English invasion of Scotland, the intercourse between England and the Island chiefs appears to have been renewed, and the frequency of the safe conducts granted at this period by the king of England to the sons of John, shews that their relationship to the Scottish king was not sufficient to counteract the causes which naturally threw them into opposition. From the tenor of these documents, it does not appear that at this time there was any difference of rank or authority observed among the brothers. By the wise policy of Robert II. this great clan had become completely divided for the time into two, who were in every respect independent of each other. Godfrey, the eldest

surviving son of the first marriage, possessed the principal power on the mainland, as lord of Garmoran and Lochaber, which he transmitted to his son; and Donald, the eldest son of the second marriage, held a considerable extent of territory of the crown, which was now first known as the feudal lordship of the Isles, and which, though not superior to, was independent of the lordship of Garmoran and Lochaber. The rest of the brethren received the usual provision allotted to them by the law of gavel, and which was principally held by them as vassals of one or other of the two lords. But a circumstance soon after occurred which had the effect of raising one of the brothers to a station of power which he could not otherwise have attained, and of adding to the already too extensive possessions of the Macdonalds. This circumstance was the marriage of Donald, the eldest son of the second marriage of John, lord of the Isles, with Mary, sister of Alexander, earl of Ross. Alexander, earl of Ross, had an only daughter, Euphemia, by the daughter of the duke of Albany, whom he had married. Upon the death of Alexander, Euphemia became a nun, and committed the government of her earldom to the governor. Donald saw that if the governor was permitted in this manner to retain the actual possession of the earldom, although his right to the succession was undeniable, he would be unable to recover his inheritance from the grasp of so crafty and ambitious a nobleman. He accordingly

procceded to exert himself to obtain possession of the earldom, contending that Euphemia, by taking the veil, had become, in a legal point of view, dead; and that the earldom belonged to him in right of his wife, and accordingly he demanded to be put in possession of it. This demand was of course repelled by the governor, whose principal object appears to have been to prevent the accession of so extensive a district to the territories of the lord of the Isles, already too powerful for the security of the government, and whose conduct was more actuated by principles of expediency than of justice. Donald had no sooner received this unfavourable answer to his demand, than he determined to assert his claim by arms, since he could not obtain it from the justice of the government. And in consequence of this determination, he raised all the forces which he could command, to the amount of ten thousand men, with whom he suddenly invaded the earldom of Ross. From the inhabitants of Ross he appears to have met with no resistance, so that he speedily obtained possession of the district; but on his arrival at Dingwall, he was encountered by Angus Dow Mackay, at the head of a large body of men from Sutherland, and, after a fierce attack, the Mackays were completely routed, and their leader taken prisoner.

Donald was now in complete possession of the earldom, but his subsequent proceedings shewed that the nominal object of his expedition was but

a cover to ulterior designs, for, leaving the district of Ross, he swept through Moray, and penetrated even into Aberdeenshire, at the head of his whole army. Here he was met at the village of Harlaw by the earl of Mar, at the head of an inferior army in point of numbers, but composed of Lowland gentlemen, who were better armed and disciplined than the Highland followers of Donald. It was on the 24th of July, 1411, that the celebrated battle of Harlaw was fought, upon the issue of which seemed to depend the question of whether the Gaelic or Teutonic part of the population of Scotland were in future to have the supremacy.

Of the battle the result was doubtful, as both parties claimed the victory; but in the case of the Highlanders, the absence of decided victory was equivalent to defeat in its effects, and Donald was in consequence obliged to retreat. The check which had been given to the Highland army was immediately followed up by the duke of Albany collecting additional forces, and marching in person to Dingwall. But Donald avoided hazarding another encounter, and returned with his forces to the Isles, where he remained all winter, while Albany rapidly made himself master of the earldom of Ross.

In the ensuing summer the war was again renewed, and carried on with various success on both sides, until at length the Island king was obliged to come to terms with the governor, and a treaty was concluded at Polgilp in Argyllshire, in which

Donald agreed to give up his claim to the earldom of Ross, and to become a vassal of the Scottish crown.

It has generally been supposed that the resignation of the earldom of Ross by Euphame the Nun in favour of her grandfather, was the sole cause of this invasion; but this is impossible, for the instrument by which the earldom was resigned is dated in 1415, just four years after the battle, and it seems rather to have been an attempt on the part of Albany to give a colour of justice to the retention of the earldom, which he was enabled, by the result of the battle, to carry into effect. There is no doubt that a claim on the earldom was the ostensible cause of the invasion; but the readiness with which that claim was given up when his subsequent inroad upon the Lowlands was checked, (and he might easily have retained possession of Ross, instead of retreating to the Isles,) besides the fact that in the year 1408 there was a treaty between Donald and the king of England, and that the war was no sooner at an end than a truce was concluded with England for six years,—very clearly indicate that this invasion was but a part of a much more extensive and more important scheme for which the claim of the earldom served but as a pretext; and that upon the failure of the greater plan, that claim was readily resigned.

During the rest of the regency of Albany, Donald did not again disturb the peace of the kingdom;

and on the utter ruin of the Albany family, accomplished by the revenge of James I., Alexander, lord of the Isles, the son of Donald, quietly succeeded to the earldom of Ross. Unfortunately for himself, however, his succession to such extensive territories, and the acquisition of so much power, took place at a time when the individual who held the reins of government was one fully able, by his singular energy, decision of character, and personal bravery, to compete with his turbulent nobles, as well as to break down their independence and power. Towards this object James I. seems to have turned his attention at the very commencement of his reign, and, doubtful of his strength effectually to reduce the northern barons to obedience, he had recourse to stratagem. For this purpose he summoned these barons to attend a parliament to be held at Inverness, and proceeded there himself at the head of his principal nobles, and accompanied by a force which rendered resistance unavailing; and the great northern chiefs not thinking it proper to disobey the summons, were arrested as soon as they made their appearance, to the number of about forty chiefs, among whom was Alexander, earl of Ross and lord of the Isles, his mother the countess of Ross, and Alexander Mac Godfrey of Garmoran, who appeared as feudal lord of that district.

Many of these victims of this act of treachery were forthwith executed, among whom was Alex-

ander of Garmoran, whose whole possessions were in consequence forfeited to the crown, while the rest, together with the lord of the Isles, were detained in captivity. By the success of this expedient, the king concluded that he had effectually reduced the Highland chiefs to obedience, and accordingly, after a short captivity, he set Alexander of the Isles at liberty; but the prospect of submission was only apparent, for no sooner was the lord of the Isles free, than he flew to arms to obtain revenge for the injurious treatment he had experienced, and appeared soon after before Inverness with an army of 10,000 men, and rased to the ground the town which had been the scene of his surprise.

But James, from the great decision and activity of his character, was fully equal to cope with the Island lord, whose ancestors had been the terror of preceding governments; and accordingly he no sooner became aware of this invasion, than, with an energy for which his adversary was little prepared, he collected a feudal force, penetrated into Lochaber with the utmost rapidity, and overtook the Highland army before they had been able to reach the shelter of the Isles. So completely were the Highlanders surprised by this bold march, that the lord of the Isles found himself deserted before the battle by the clans Chattan and Cameron, who, doubtful of the issue of an encounter, and feeling no great cordiality for the cause of the earl of Ross, went

over to the royal army. The lord of the Isles, however, did not shun the attack, but, as might be expected from the dispiriting effect of so great a desertion, the result was the complete rout and dispersion of the Highland army; and so close did the pursuit of the Island lord at length become, that he found it impossible to conceal himself, and after several unsuccessful attempts to obtain a reconciliation with the king, he resolved to throw himself upon the royal mercy, and to descend to the most extraordinary piece of humiliation which is recorded in history. It was upon the occasion of a solemn festival held in the chapel of Holyrood that this proud chief, whose father and grandfather had entered into treaties and concluded peace as independent princes, appeared before the assembled Scottish court, divested of all his garments save his shirt and drawers alone, and holding a naked sword in his hand, knelt down at the feet of the monarch, and implored his clemency. In some degree his supplication was successful, for James granted him his life, but directed him to be instantly imprisoned in Tantallon castle.

James, however, had yet to learn that, from the peculiar nature of the system of clanship, the imprisonment of their chief did not in any way affect the strength of the clan, or render them more amenable to the royal authority. On the contrary, he was now to find that such a proceeding was more likely to incite them to revenge. And accordingly

Alexander of the Isles had been only two years in captivity, when the inhabitants of the Isles once more broke out into open insurrection, and burst into Lochaber under the command of Donald Balloch, the son of his uncle Reginald, and chief of the clan Ranald. They there encountered an army which had been left in Lochaber for the purpose of overawing the Highlanders, under the command of the earls of Mar and Caithness, and after an obstinate conflict, the king's troops were completely defeated, the earl of Caithness left dead upon the field, while the remainder were rescued with some difficulty by the earl of Mar. Donald Balloch, however, considered it hazardous to follow up his success, and having ravaged the neighbouring districts, he retired to the Isles, and subsequently to Ireland, to avoid the vengence of so powerful an adversary as the king of Scotland.

James now saw that the absence of the chief, so far from rendering the clan more disposed to become amenable to his will, rather roused them to acts of rebellion and revenge, and that it was better to have at the head of the clan, a chief who had become bound to him from acts of clemency, than to expose them to the influence of the other branches of the family, who were irritated by the indignity offered to the Island lord; he therefore proceeded in person to the north, for the purpose of quelling the remains of the rebellion: his expedition was attended with his usual success, by the submission of all the

chiefs who had been engaged in it. Donald Balloch was, soon after this, betrayed, and his head sent to the king, upon which he at once restored the lord of the Isles to liberty, granted him a free pardon for all the various acts of rebellion he had been guilty of, and also confirmed to him not only all his titles and possessions, but even granted him the lordship of Lochaber, which had been forfeited from his cousin Alexander, and given to the earl of Mar. The policy of this act was soon apparent, for although Alexander of the Isles was naturally thrown into opposition to the court, and entered into a strict league with the earls of Crawford and Douglas, who at that time headed the opposition, yet it does not appear that the peace of the country was again disturbed during his life. But on his death, the parties engaged in the league, which, although strictly preserved, had not hitherto led to any manifestations of actual insurrection, at length broke out into open rebellion, and the new lord of the Isles, who was as active an opposer of the royal party as his father had been, seized the royal castles of Inverness, Urquhart, and Ruthven, in Badenoch, and declared himself independent.

In this state of open rebellion, John, lord of the Isles, was secretly supported by the earl of Douglas, and openly by the other barons who belonged to their party; but a circumstance soon after occurred, which, together with the murder of Douglas, and defeat of Crawford, by Huntly, not only reduced

John, after having for several years maintained a species of independence, to submit to the king, and resign his lands into his hands, but moreover proved the cause of the subsequent ruin of the kingdom of the Isles, which had so long existed in a condition of partial independence. This circumstance was a rebellion in the Isles, against John, by his son Angus Og, and John was thus doomed to experience, in his own territories, the same opposition which he had so long offered to the king.

With regard to the actual circumstances which gave rise to this extraordinary contest, there is considerable obscurity, but the causes are thus stated by an ancient Sennachie of the clan Donald. "John succeeded his father, a meek, modest man, brought up at court in his younger years, and a scholar more fit to be a churchman, than to command so many irregular tribes of people. He endeavoured, however, still to keep them in their allegiance, by bestowing gifts on some, and promoting others with lands and possessions; by this he became prodigal, and very expensive. He had a natural son, begotten of Macduffie of Colonsay's daughter, and Angus Og, his legitimate son, by the earl of Angus's daughter. He gave the lands of Morvairn to Maclean, and many of his lands in the north to others, judging, by these means, to make them more faithful to him than they were to his father. His son, Angus Og, being a bold, forward man, and high minded, observing that his father very much diminished his

rents by his prodigality, thought to deprive him of all management and authority." But, whatever was the cause of this dissension, it appears that Angus Og, who had been appointed by his father lieutenant general in all his possessions, and who had been the actual mover in all these insurrections, took advantage of his station to deprive his father of all authority whatever, and to become lord of the Isles, and Angus Og was no sooner in a situation of power than he determined to be revenged upon the earl of Atholl, for the hostility which he had invariably manifested against the lord of the Isles, and at the same time to declare himself independent; for this purpose, having collected a numerous army in the Isles, he suddenly appeared before the castle of Inverness, and having been admitted by the governor, who believed him faithful, he immediately proclaimed himself king of the Hebrides. He then invaded the district of Atholl, and arriving unexpectedly at Blair, he stormed the castle, seized the earl and countess of Atholl, and carried them prisoners to Isla, where he confined them. But the workings of superstition effected that which it would have been found perhaps difficult by any other means to obtain, for a storm of thunder and lightning having sunk the greater part of his galleys on his return to the Isles with the rich booty he had obtained, it was ascribed to the wrath of heaven, in consequence of his having plundered and attempted to burn the chapel of St. Bridget, in Atholl; and in

order therefore to expiate the crime for which he now began to feel remorse, he set the earl and countess at liberty, and performed penance on the scene of his sacrilege.

Angus Og next induced his father to enter into a treaty with the king of England and the earl of Douglas, which had for its object no less than the entire subjugation of Scotland, and its partition among the contracting parties. This remarkable treaty is dated at London, on the 13th of February 1462, and by it the lord of the Isles agreed, upon payment of a stipulated sum of money to himself, his son, and his ally, Donald Balloch of Isla, to become the sworn vassal for ever of England, and that along with the whole body of his subjects, and to assist him in the wars in Ireland as well as elsewhere. But in addition to this, it was provided that in the event of the entire subjugation of Scotland by the earls of Ross and Douglas, the whole of the kingdom to the north of the Scottish Sea, or Firth of Forth, was to be divided equally between Douglas, the lord of the Isles, and Donald Balloch, while Douglas was to be restored to the possession of those estates between the Scottish Sea and the borders of England, from which he was now excluded. No step, however, appears to have been taken upon this extraordinary treaty, until the year 1473, at which period the lord of the Isles appears to have been in open rebellion, and to have continued so for several years. But Angus Og does not appear

to have been supported in this insurrection by the other parties who had joined in the league with him, which occasioned his reduction to become a matter of less difficulty to the government.

A parliament was held at Edinburgh in the year 1475, in which this fierce and insurgent noble was declared a traitor, and his estates confiscated to the crown; and, in order to carry this forfeiture into effect, the earls of Crawford and Atholl were directed to proceed against him with a large force. The extent of these preparations, which comprehended a formidable fleet, as well as a land army, now convinced the earl of Ross that the proceedings of his rebellious son, which had already deprived him of all authority, were likely also to cause the utter ruin and destruction of his race, and he determined to make one effort to regain his station, and to preserve the possessions of his ancestors. The only means now left for him to effect this was, to obtain the assistance of the government, a matter by no means easy, in consequence of the rebellion into which he had been dragged by his son, and which had resulted in his forfeiture. He was therefore obliged to submit to the necessary sacrifice, and by means of a grant of lands in Knapdale, he obtained the powerful influence of the Earl of Argyll, and in consequence, upon resigning his whole possessions into the hands of the crown, he received a remission for his past offences, and was reinstated in the royal favour, and in his former possessions, with the excep-

tion of the earldom of Ross, lands of Knapdale and Kintyre, and offices of sheriff of Inverness and Nairne, which were retained by the crown, while he himself was created a peer of parliament by the title of lord of the Isles.

Soon after this, the earl of Atholl was despatched to the north, for the purpose of reinstating the earl of Ross in his possessions; and on entering the earldom, he was joined by the Mackenzies, Mackays, Frasers, Rosses, and others, but being met by Angus Og, who had hastened there at the head of the clan, at a place called Lagebread, the earl of Atholl was defeated with great slaughter, and, with some difficulty made his escape. The earls of Crawford and Huntly were then sent, the one by sea, the other by land; but both expeditions were attended with equally bad success. The third expedition consisted of Argyll and Atholl, who were accompanied by the lord of the Isles, and on this occasion Argyll found means to persuade several of the families of the Isles to join their party. An interview then took place between the contending parties, which did not produce any result, and the two earls, who do not appear to have had any great cordiality towards the object of their expedition, returned. John, however, proceeded onwards through the Sound of Mull, accompanied by the Macleans, Macleods, Macneils, and others, and encountered Angus Og in a bay on the south side of the promontory of Ardnamurchan. A naval engagement immediately took place between

the father and son and their respective followers, which ended in the complete overthrow of the unfortunate father, and the dispersion of his fleet. By this victory, which will long be remembered in the traditions of the country as the "Battle of the Bloody Bay," Angus became completely established in the possession of the power and extensive territories of his clan. John appears not long after this to have become reconciled to his son, who easily regained the entire ascendancy over him which he had formerly possessed; and, accordingly, it was but five years after the date of his submission that we once more find him throwing off his allegiance to the throne, and engaging in a treaty with Edward IV., king of England, who was then preparing to invade Scotland; and from this period, during the remainder of the reign of James III., the Isles appear to have continued in a state of open resistance to the authority of the government. But the accession of James IV., in 1494, made a material change in this respect, for that energetic monarch, who in many points of view bore a strong resemblance to his ancestor the first James, took the most decided and severe measures for reducing the country to a state of peace, while the recent death of Angus Og left John in no condition to defend himself from the consequences of the rebellion into which he had been led. In these measures James was accordingly successful; it was in the sixth year of his reign that he turned his attention particularly to the state of

the Highlands and Isles; and during that year, he visited them personally three times, besides having twice, in the preceding year, penetrated into the Highlands as far as Dunstaffnage and Mingarry, in Ardnamurchan, and reduced most of the Highland chiefs to obedience.

The lord of the Isles, nevertheless, still refused to submit, and defied the royal authority; James found himself unable successfully to attack him in his strongholds, but on his return to Edinburgh, he assembled a parliament, in which the title and possessions of the lord of the Isles were declared forfeited to the crown.

Not long after this, John of the Isles appears to have died; and as his grandson, Donald Du, was still a minor, and the other branches of the family were engaged in various dissensions among each other, there was no one at once to resume the government of the clan, and to offer effectual resistance to the king. The forfeiture and death of John had the effect of completely disorganizing the clan; while all those clans which had been dependent upon the lords of the Isles, although not connected by descent, having attained to considerable power under their protection, seized this opportunity, with one accord, of declaring themselves independent of the Macdonalds, and set about procuring from the king feudal titles to their respective lands.

There was no longer, therefore, any prospect of the Macdonalds again obtaining the almost royal

state which they had so long enjoyed, and from this period may accordingly be dated the fall of that once powerful clan; although, before the Macdonalds finally resigned the contest, they appear to have made three several attempts to place various of their branches at the head of the whole tribe: but these attempts proved equally unsuccessful, partly from the prompt measures adopted by government, but principally from the effects of their own internal dissensions, as well as from the great opposition they received from those clans formerly dependent on the Macdonalds, but whose interest it had now become to prevent the union of the tribe under one head as formerly. The first of these attempts took place shortly after the death of John of the Isles, and was made in favour of Donald Du, his grandson by his son, Angus Og. The principal parties engaged in this attempt was Alaster Macdonald, of Lochalsh, the son of Celestin, who was a brother of John, lord of the Isles, Torquil Macleod of Lewis, and Lauchlan Maclane of Doward. To Maclane was intrusted the person of Donald Du, and the task of keeping possession of the Isles, while Alaster proceeded with the greater part of the clan to Ross, with a view to recover possession of that earldom. Here he was not prepared to meet with opposition, but Mackenzie, being well aware that the loss of his newly acquired independence would follow Alaster's success, and although far inferior in strength, resolved to make a desperate effort, in which he succeeded; for, having

surprised the Macdonalds in the night time, at the village of Blairnapark, he dispersed them with great slaughter. Alaster upon this returned to the Isles, but the dissension among the islanders soon put a finishing stroke to the defeat of this first attempt. The principal families of the Isles who were opposed to the succession of Donald Du, were those of Macian of Ardnamurchan, and Macconnel of Kintyre, who were apprehensive that their own houses would suffer by the success of the rebellion. They had not, however, dared to oppose it, when fortune at first seemed to favour the enterprise; but when, after Alaster's defeat in Ross, he returned to the Isles, to raise men, they followed his vessel to Oransay, where they overtook him, and put him to death. Maclane with his party had, in the meantime, though at first more successful, been reduced to submission by the efforts of the government. Having found little difficulty in making himself master of the Isles, he had, with the other Island chiefs, burst into Badenoch, at the head of a considerable force, wasting the country in every direction; and even set fire to the town of Inverness. An army, at the head of which were the earls of Argyll, Huntly, Crawford and Marshall, with Lord Lovat, and other barons, was led against him, but, with the usual Highland policy, he had retreated to the Isles with his plunder. James then found it necessary to dispatch a fleet under the command of Sir Andrew Wood, the most celebrated naval commander of his day, to the Isles, to co-

operate with the land army, and the result of this expedition shewed that the Island chiefs had hitherto owed their immunity to the inefficient state of the Scottish navy; and that the extraordinary advance which had been made in that department now laid them at the mercy of the government. Kerneburg Castle, the last resort of the insurgents, was reduced with the utmost facility. The Maclanes and Macleods submitted, and Donald Du was taken captive and imprisoned in the castle of Inch Connel, where he was destined to remain for forty years.

A.D. 1501.

At no period, however, did the Highlanders exhibit more of the extraordinary perseverance with which they support a falling cause; for although the person whom they regarded as the legitimate heir of the Isles was in hopeless captivity, they made an attempt to place his nearest relation and presumptive heir in possession of the Isles; and accordingly it was not many years after the failure of their former insurrection, that Donald Galda, the son of that Alaster who had been the principal mover in the former rebellion, having just attained the age of majority, raised another insurrection in the Isles, in order to assert what he considered his just claim to the lordship of the Isles; but this attempt, although supported by a greater proportion of the chiefs, proved equally unsuccessful with the last. It appears that Donald Galda had no sooner declared his intention of attempting to regain

A.D. 1515.

the Isles, than he was joined by the powerful clan of the Macleods. He also reconciled himself with the Macconnells of Kintyre, and with this great accession of power he succeeded in obtaining possession of the Isles, and was immediately declared lord of the Isles; but he did not long enjoy his dignity, as he died a few weeks afterwards, and the only event of his short reign was his revenging his father's death upon the Macians of Ardnamurchan, by the slaughter of their chief and his son.

CHAPTER IV.

The Gallgael, continued.

NOTWITHSTANDING the ill success of the two attempts which the Macdonalds had made to set up one of their race as lord of the Isles, they remained determined not to give up all prospect of having a chief of their own race without a farther struggle. The effects of the last insurrections had indeed so completely depressed and crushed them for the time, that they appear to have been, during the remainder of the reign of James V., in no condition to attempt such an enterprise; and it was in consequence not till the regency of Mary of Guise, that an apparently favourable opportunity offered itself for the purpose. The race of Celestine John's immediate younger brother being now extinct, they turned their thoughts towards Donald Du, the son of Angus Og, in whose favour the first attempt had been made shortly after the death of the last lord of the Isles; and they now determined to make a final effort to place him in possession of the inheritance which they conceived to have been unjustly wrested from him. Donald Du had been carried off, when still a minor, on the suc-

cessful siege of Kerneburgh, by Sir Andrew Wood, and had been detained in captivity ever since in Inchconnel; but a sudden and unexpected attack upon his castle by the Macdonalds of Glenco effected his liberation, and he had no sooner arrived in the Isles than he was declared lord, and received the submission of the chiefs of the different branches of the Macdonalds and the other Island lords. In this insurrection, Donald Du was supported by the earl of Lennox, who was at that time in the English interest; and as long as Lennox continued in league with him, he remained in possession of the Isles; but that earl having soon after made his peace with the king, and disbanded his followers, Donald Du went to Ireland for the purpose of raising forces to support his occupancy of the territories of the Isles, but having been attacked with fever, he died at Drogheda, on his way to Dublin, and with him ended the direct line of the earls of Ross and lords of the Isles, and all hopes of a descendant of Somerled again reigning over the Isles. Thus ended the last effort made by the Macdonalds to regain their former state and power, and from this period they have remained divided and broken up into various branches, whose numerical strength is rendered unavailing by their mutual jealousy and want of union.

A.D. 1545.

Upon the forfeiture of the lords of the Isles, and failure of their subsequent attempts to retrieve their affairs, the various clans occupying the extensive territories which had owned their sway, were found

in one or other of three situations: of one class were a number of clans which became dependent upon the Macdonalds, but were not of the same origin, and these clans, with the exception of the Macleods, Maclanes, and others, opposed all the attempts made for the restoration of the family of the Isles, while upon the success of that opposition all of them raised themselves in strength and power. A second class were of the same origin as the family of the Isles; but having branched off from the main stem before the succession of the elder branches fell to the clan, in the person of John of the Isles, in the reign of David II., and before they rose to the height of their power, they now appeared as separate clans; of these were the Macalasters, Macians, &c. The Macalasters are traced by the MS. of 1450 from Alaster, a son of Angus Mor; and while the general derivation is confirmed by their tradition, the particular steps of the genealogy contained in that MS. derive corroboration from the records.

The Macalasters inhabited the south of Knapdale and the north of Kintyre, and during the government of the lords of the Isles, we of course know little of their history. But after the forfeiture of the Isles they became independent, and were immediately exposed to the encroachments of the Campbells, so that their principal possessions soon found their way into different branches of that wide spreading race.

The Macians of Ardnamurchan are descended

from John, a son of Angus Mor, to whom his father gave the property which he had obtained from the crown; while the descent of the Macians, or Macdonalds, of Glenco, from John Fraoch, a son of Angus Og, lord of the Isles, is undoubted, and never has been disputed, and their history in no degree differs from that of the other branches of the Macdonalds. There is but one circumstance peculiar to them which has rendered their name celebrated in the annals of the country,—that of the infamous massacre to which this unfortunate clan was subjected; a well known transaction, into the details of which it is unnecessary here to enter. It must for ever remain a blot upon the memory of the king in whose reign it happened, and on that nobleman by whom it was perpetrated, which can never be effaced; and so detestable a transaction is almost sufficient to justify the hatred and opposition of the Highlanders towards the established government, which, united to their personal attachment to the line of their ancient kings, produced the unfortunate insurrections of the years 1715 and 1745. The third set were the descendants of the different lords of the Isles, who still professed to form one clan, but among whom the subject of the representation of the lords of the Isles soon introduced great dissensions. These branches all adopted the name of Macdonald, and the first great division which took place among them was between the descendants of the sons of the two marriages of John, lord of the Isles, in the fourteenth

century. The descendants of the first marriage were limited to the clan Ranald; those of the second consisted of the Macdonalds of Sleat, Isla, and Keppoch, and the former, now that the circumstances which had given the latter in some degree a pre-eminence were at an end, loudly asserted their right to be considered as the patriarchal chiefs of the clan Donald.

Among the descendants of the latter family, the representation now clearly devolved upon the Macdonalds of Sleat, who were descended of Hugh, brother of John, the last lord of the Isles. The three branches, however, remained in every respect independent of each other. The second branch, or Macdonald of Isla and Kintyre, after maintaining themselves for some time in a state of considerable power, at length sunk gradually before the secret but powerful agency of the Campbells, and were finally extinguished in the beginning of the reign of Charles I., when the Campbells, having procured letters of fire and sword against the whole clan Jan Vor, and having also obtained the assistance of the Macleods, Macleans, Macneils, Camerons, and others, compelled the last representative of that house, Sir James Macdonald, to fly to Spain, upon which the earl of Argyll got a grant of their lands, which forms the most valuable portion of his property.

The Macdonalds of Keppoch remained for a long period in the forcible possession of their district of Lochaber, in spite of every effort to dispossess them,

which occasioned their being engaged in perpetual feuds with their neighbours. They were the last of the Highlanders who retained the system of predatory warfare, in which at one time all were equally engaged; and as it is not long since they became extinct, it may be said that they preserved the warlike and high-spirited character of the ancient Highlander until it terminated with their own existence. The Macdonalds of Sleat is the only branch which has increased in power and station, and as their elevation to the peerage by the title of Lord Macdonald has placed them in the apparent situation of chief of the race, it will not be improper to add a few remarks on the claims of the different branches to that station.

While it is fully admitted that the family of Sleat are the undoubted representatives of the last lord of the Isles, yet if the descendants of Donald, from whom the clan took its name, or even of John of the Isles in the reign of David II., are to be held as forming one clan, it is plain that, according to the Highland principles of clanship, the *jus sanguinis*, or right of blood to the chiefship lay unquestionably in the male representative of John, whose own right was undoubted. John of the Isles had, by Amy, the daughter of Roderick of the Isles, three sons, John, Godfrey, and Ranald, of whom the last only left descendants, and from whom the clan Ranald unquestionably derive their origin. By the daughter of Robert II., John had four sons, Donald, lord of the

Isles, from whom came the Macdonalds of Sleat; John Mor, from whom the Macconells of Kyntyre; Alaster, the progenitor of Keppoch; and Angus.

In this question, therefore, there are involved two subordinate questions which have given rise to considerable disputes.—First, was Amy, the daughter of Roderic of the Isles, John's legitimate wife, and were the sons of that marriage John's legitimate heirs? And secondly, if the sons of the first marriage are legitimate, who is chief of the clan Ranald, the only clan descended from that marriage? With regard to the first point, there are two documents which place it beyond all doubt that Amy was John's lawful wife. The first of these is a dispensation from the Pope in 1337 to John, son of Angus of the Isles, and Amie, daughter of Roderic of the Isles. The second is the treaty between John and David II. in 1369, in which the hostages are "Donaldum filium meum ex filia domini senescali Scotiæ genitum Angusium filium quondam Johannis filii mei et Donaldum quemdam alium filium meum *naturalem*." John had by Amy three sons, John, Godfrey, and Ranald, and the distinction made in the above passage between *John* "*filius meus*," and Donald filius meus *naturalis*, proves that this family were legitimate. But it is equally clear that the children of this marriage were considered as John's feudal heirs. When Robert II., in pursuance of the policy which he had adopted, persuaded John to make the children of the two marriages feudally independent of each

other, it was effected in this manner. John received charters of certain of his lands containing a special destination to the heir of the marriage with the king's daughter, while he granted a charter of another portion of his lands, consisting of the lordship of Garmoran, part of Lochaber, and some of the Isles, among which was that of Uist, to Reginald, one of the children of the first marriage, to be held of John's lawful heirs, and this charter was confirmed by the king. That a special destination was necessary to convey part of John's possessions to the children of the second marriage is in itself a strong presumption that they were not his feudal heirs, and from the terms of Reginald's charter it is manifest that he must, on John's death, have held his lands of the person universally acknowledged to be the feudal heir of the lord of the Isles. This person, however, was his brother Godfrey, the eldest surviving son of the first marriage, for in a charter to the Abbey of Inchaffray, dated 7th July, 1389, he designates himself "Dominus de Uist," and dates his charter "Apud Castrum meum de Ylantirum," both of which are included in Reginald's charter. Moreover it appears that he was succeeded in this by his son Alexander, for when James II. summoned a parliament at Inverness, to which those only who held their lands in chief of the crown, were bound to attend, and when, from the state of the country at the time, it is apparent that no one would appear who could on any ground excuse his absence, we find among those

who obeyed the summons, Alexander Macreury de Garmoran. Macreury and Macgorry, or son of Godfrey, are convertible expressions, and the attendance of this chief in parliament proves that the sons of Godfrey held the lordship of Garmoran in chief of the crown. We find, however, that the rest of Reginald's lands were equally held of this Alexander, for Reginald's charter included a considerable part of Lochaber, and in the year 1394 an indenture was entered into between the Earl of Moray and Alexander de Insulis dominus de Lochaber for the protection of certain lands in Morayshire. We thus see that when it was intended that the eldest son of the second marriage should hold his lands of the crown a special destination to him was requisite, that a charter of certain lands was given to Reginald to be held of John's feudal heirs, and that these very lands were held in chief of the crown by Godfrey, the eldest surviving son of the first marriage, and by his son Alexander. It is, therefore, plain, that the actual effect of Robert the Second's policy was to divide the possessions of his formidable vassals into two distinct and independent feudal lordships, of which the Dominium de Garmoran et Lochaber was held by the eldest son of the first marriage, and the Dominium Insularum by the eldest son of the second marriage; and in this state they certainly remained until the fatal parliament of 1427, when the lord of Garmoran was beheaded and his estates forfeited to the crown.

The policy of James I. induced him then to re-

verse the proceedings of his predecessor Robert, and he accordingly concentrated the Macdonald possessions in the person of the lord of the Isles, but this arbitrary proceeding could not deprive the descendants of the first marriage of the feudal representation of the chiefs of the clan Donald, which now, on the failure of the issue of Godfrey in the person of his son Alexander, unquestionably devolved on the feudal representative of Reginald, the youngest son of that marriage.

Of the descent of the clan Ranald, there is no doubt whatever, nor has it ever been disputed, that they derive their origin from this Reginald or Ranald, a son of John lord of the Isles by Amy Mac Rory. Ranald obtained, as we have seen, from his father the lordship of Garmoran, which he held as vassal of his brother Godfrey, and these were the same territories which the clan Ranald possessed, as appears from the parliamentary records in 1587, when mention is made of the "Clan Ranald of Knoydart, Moydart, and Glengarry." There has, however, arisen considerable doubt which of the various families descended from Ranald anciently possessed the chiefship, and without entering in this place into an argument of any great length on the subject, we shall state shortly the conclusions to which we have been led after a rigid examination of that question.

That the present family styling themselves "of Clanranald" were not the ancient chiefs there can be no doubt, as it is now a matter of evidence that they are descended from a *bastard* son of a second

son of the old family of Moydart, who assumed the title of captain of Clanranald in 1531, and as long as the descendants of the elder brother remain they can have no claim by right of blood. The point we are to examine is, who was the chief previous to that assumption?

Ranald had five sons, of whom three only left issue, viz. Donald, from whom descended the family of Knoydart and Glengarry, Allan, the ancestor of the family of Moydart, and Angus, from whom came the family of Moror. That the descendants of Angus were the youngest branch, and could have no claim to the chiefship, has never been disputed, and the question accordingly lies between the descendants of Donald and of Allan. The seniority of Donald, however, is distinctly proved by the fact, that on the extinction of the family of Moror, the family of Moydart succeeded legally to that property; consequently by the law of Scotland they must have been descended from a younger son than the family of Knoydart and Glengarry, and it follows of necessity that the latter family must have been that of the chief. Independently, however, of this argument, derived from the history of their properties, the same fact is evinced by the constant appearance of the latter family at the head of the clan previous to the usurpation of the family of Moydart; thus when after Alexander, the lord of Garmoran, had been beheaded in 1427, and the lord of the Isles was soon after imprisoned, the whole clan rose in arms and revenged the death and imprisonment of their chiefs by the

defeat of the king's army at Inverlochy in 1433, they were commanded by Donald the son of Ranald, for the oldest authorities term the Donald Balloch who led the clan on this occasion, the son of Alexander's uncle. The only other Donald who stood in this relation to Alexander was the son of John Mor, of Isla; but the same authorities state that the Donald Balloch of Inverlochy was betrayed and slain but a very few years afterwards, while the Donald the son of John Mor was unquestionably alive in 1462. The Donald Balloch of Inverlochy must, therefore, have been Donald the son of Ranald, and unless he was the chief of the clan Ranald it is difficult to suppose that he would have been placed in command of the whole clan, while the natural inference from the transaction is, that the clan turned themselves to Donald as the person who had the best right to lead them. Donald had three sons, John, Alaster, and Angus[1]. On the forfeiture of Alexander Mac Gorry of Garmoran in 1427, that part of Lochaber possessed by him was granted to the Earl of Marr, while all those lands held of him by the clan Ranald remained in the crown, and consequently the chief of clan Ranald must have held them as crown vassal[2].

[1] MS. of 1450.

[2] Not only did the chief of clan Ranald hold these lands of the crown, as he had previously held them of Alexander Mac Gorry, but it actually appears that the Lord of the Isles was his vassal in some of them, for Alexander, Lord of the Isles, grants a charter to the ancestor of the Macneills, dated in 1427, of the island of Barra, and of the lands of Boysdale in the

Accordingly we find John, the eldest son of Donald, holding his lands of the crown as appears from a gift of the nonentries of Knoydart to Cameron since the decease of Umq[ll] John Mac Ranald[1], and this sufficiently indicates his position at the head of the clan, as, if he had not been chief, he would have held his lands of the Moydart family. John appears by another charter to have died in 1467, and in 1476 the lands of Garmoran were included in a crown charter to John, lord of the Isles. The lords of the Isles had invariably manifested the most inveterate hostility to the rival family of Garmoran and their supporters. On the acquisition of Lochaber by Alexander, lord of the Isles, after his release from prison, this animosity displayed itself in the proscription of the Macdonalds of Keppoch, Macmartins of Letterfinlay, and others who were always faithful adherents of the patriarchal chief of the clan. The same animosity was now directed against the chief of clan Ranald; his lands of Knoydart appear to have been given to Lochiel, the lands of Southmoror, Arisaig, and many of the isles, were bestowed on Hugh of Slait, the brother of the lord of the Isles,

island of Uist, both of which islands are included in Reginald's charter, and one of which was, as we have seen, certainly held in chief of the crown by the heir of the *first* marriage.

[1] That this John Mac Ranald was John, the eldest son of Donald, appears from two facts; first, his lands adjoin those of Alaster, the second son, and are separated by them from those of the other branches of the clan. Second, on the failure of his descendants the descendants of Alaster succeeded to them.

and in this way the principal branch of the clan Ranald was reduced to a state of depression from which it did not soon recover. To this proscription there was but one exception, viz. the family of Moydart, who alone retained their possessions, and in consequence, on the forfeiture of the lords of the Isles, they did not hesitate to avail themselves of their situation, and place themselves at the head of the clan, a proceeding to which the representative of the ancient chiefs was not in a situation to offer any resistance. This was principally effected by John, surnamed Mudortach, a bastard son of the brother of the laird of Moydort; but the character of the usurpation is sufficiently marked by the title of *captain* of clan Ranald, which alone he assumed, and which his descendants retained until the latter part of the last century, when the Highland title of captain of clan Ranald was most improperly converted into the feudal one of Macdonald of clan Ranald. At the forfeiture of the lords of the Isles, the family of Knoydart and Glengarry consisted of two branches termed respectively "of Knoydart" and "of Glengarry," of which the former was the senior; and while the senior branch never recovered from the depressed state to which they had been reduced, the latter obtained a great accession of territory, and rose at once to considerable power by a fortunate marriage with the heiress of the Macdonalds of Lochalsh. During the existence of the senior branch, the latter acknowledged its head as their chief, but on their ex-

tinction, which occurred soon after the usurpation by the family of Moydart, the Glengarry branch succeeded to their possessions, and as representing Donald, the eldest son of Ranald, the founder of the clan, loudly asserted their right to the chiefship, which they have ever since maintained.

As the Moydart family were unwilling to resign the position which they had acquired, this produced a division of the clan into two factions, but the right of the descendants of Donald is strongly evinced by the above fact of the junior branch acknowledging a chief during the existence of the senior, and only maintaining their right to that station on its extinction, and by the acknowledgment of the chiefship of the Glengarry family constantly made by the Macdonalds of Keppoch and other branches of the clan, who had invariably followed the patriarchal chiefs in preference to the rival family of the lords of the Isles.

These few facts, which are necessarily given but very concisely, are however sufficient to warrant us in concluding, that Donald, the progenitor of the family of Glengarry, was Ranald's eldest son; that from John, Donald's eldest son, proceeded the senior branch of this family, who were chiefs of clan Ranald; that they were from circumstances, but principally in consequence of the grant of Garmoran to the lord of the Isles, so completely reduced, that the oldest cadet, as usual in such cases, obtained the actual chiefship, with the title of captain, while on the extinction of this branch, in the beginning of

the seventeenth century, the family of Glengarry, descended from Alaster, Donald's second son, became the legal representatives of Ranald, the common ancestor of the clan, and consequently possessed that right of blood to the chiefship of which no usurpation, however successful, could deprive them. The family of Glengarry have since then not only claimed the chiefship of the clan Ranald, but likewise that of the whole clan Donald, as undoubted representative of Donald, the common ancestor of the clan; and when the services rendered by the family to the house of Stuart were rewarded by a peerage from Charles II., Glengarry indicated his rights by assuming the title of Lord Macdonell and Arross, which, on the failure of male heirs of his body, did not descend to his successors, although his lands formed in consequence the barony of Macdonell.

Arms.

Quarterly.—First. Or, a lion rampant, azure, armed and langued, gules. Second. A dexter hand coupee, holding a cross crosslet, fitchie sable. Third. Or, a ship with her sails furled, salterwise, sable. Fourth. A salmon naiant, proper, with a chief waved argent.

Badge.

Heath.

Principal Seat.

Isla.

Oldest Cadet.

Mac Alaster of Loup, now Somerville Macalister of Kennox.

Chief.

The Ranaldson Macdonells, of Macdonell and Glengarry,

are the unquestionable male representatives of the founder of the clan, and therefore possess the right of blood to the chiefship.

Force.

In 1427 the Macdonells of Garmoran and Lochaber mustered 2000 men. In 1715, the whole clan, 2820. In 1745, 2350.

CLAN DUGALL.

The Macdogalls have, in general, been derived from Dogall, the eldest son of Somerled, and it has been hitherto assumed, that Alexander de Ergadia, who first appears in 1284, and who was the undoubted ancestor of the clan, was the son of Ewen de Ergadia, or king Ewen, who appears so prominently at the period of the cession of the Isles. But this derivation, to which the resemblance of name has probably given rise, is unquestionably erroneous, for independently of the fact that there is strong evidence for King Ewen having died without male issue, it is expressly contradicted by the manuscript of 1450, in two several places. That invaluable record of Highland genealogies says expressly, that from Ranald sprung the clan Rory, clan Donald, and *clan Dogall;* and that this was no mere mistake, but the real opinion of the author is evident, for in another place he gives the genealogy of the Macdogalls of Dunolly from Dugall the son of Ranald. This, however, is confirmed by the chartulary of Cupar, for the manuscript makes Alexander de Ergadia, the son of *Duncan,* son of Dugall, son of Reginald; and in that chartulary Duncanus de

Lornyn witnesses a charter of the earl of Atholl of the lands of Dunfallandy, dated certainly between 1253 and 1270, while during that period Ewen was in possession of the lands of his branch of the family. These facts seem to leave little room to doubt that this clan were in reality descended from Ranald the son of Somerled, and that their ancestor Dugall was the brother of Donald, the founder of the clan Donald.

The first appearance of this family is at the convention of 1284, where we find the name of Alexander de Ergadia, and his attendance on this occasion was probably procured by a crown charter of his lands; but from this period we lose sight of him until the reign of Robert the Bruce, when the opposition of Alexander de Ergadia, lord of Lorn, and his son John to the succession of that king, has made his name familiar in Scottish history. Alaster having married the third daughter of John, called the Red Comyn, who was slain by Bruce in the Dominican church at Dumfries, became, from that circumstance, the mortal enemy of that prince, and on more than one occasion, was the means of reducing him to great straits, in the early period of his reign. After his defeat at Methven, in June 19, 1306; Bruce retreated to the mountainous part of Braidalbane, and approached the borders of Argyllshire, where, with his followers, who did not amount to three hundred men, he was encountered by Lorn with about a thousand of his followers, and repulsed

after a very severe engagement. The Bruce with difficulty escaped, and the greatness of his danger is attested by the fact, that upon one occasion he was only able to extricate himself from the followers of Lorn, by unclasping his mantle; and the brooch, which is said to have been lost by him during the struggle, is still preserved as a remarkable relic in the family of Macdogall of Dunolly.

The place where this battle was fought is still called Dalry, or the King's Field. On another occasion, when he had been obliged to hide from his enemies, he was tracked for a long distance by John of Lorn and his party, by aid of a blood-hound, and only escaped by the exertion of almost incredible personal courage and activity. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that when Bruce had finally established himself firmly on the throne of Scotland, that one of his first objects should be directed towards crushing his old enemies the Macdogalls, and revenging the many injuries he had received from them.

Accordingly, he marched into Argyllshire for the purpose of laying that country waste and taking possession of Lorn, and found John of Lorn, with his followers, posted in the formidable and nearly inaccessible pass, which intervenes between the mountain of Ben Cruachan and Loch Awe. But the military skill of Bruce was able to overcome even the natural difficulties of the country, for he dispatched a party to scale the mountain, and gain

the heights, while attacking the enemy in front, he speedily changed their resistance into precipitate flight—the difficulty of the pass, which had been of advantage to them in the attack, now proved their ruin when in flight, and accordingly, being unable to effect their escape, they were totally routed, and that with great slaughter. Upon this event Bruce laid waste Argyllshire, and besieged the castle of Dunstafnage, which he compelled to surrender. Alaster, of Lorn, hopeless of successfully continuing his opposition, submitted to the victorious king, while his son John, who could not expect to be admitted to any terms, fled to England. The greater part of their territories were forfeited by the king, and given to Angus of Isla, who throughout had been one of his main supports, while Alaster was allowed to retain the district of Lorn. At this time the king of England was making preparations for that great expedition into Scotland, which resulted in the battle of Bannockburn, and on the arrival of John of Lorn as a fugitive, he appointed him admiral of the fleet, and dispatched him to Scotland, to co-operate with the land army. The battle of Bannockburn soon after confirmed Bruce in the secure possession of the crown, and he was no sooner relieved from the apprehension of any farther attempt on the part of the king of England to regain possession of Scotland, than he determined to drive the lord of Lorn out of the Isles, where he had arrived with his fleet. For this purpose, when he had accompanied his brother

Edward in his expedition to Ireland, he turned his course towards the Isles, and having arrived at Tarbet, he is said to have caused his galleys to be dragged over the isthmus which unites Kintyre and Knapdale.

" And quhen thai, that in the Ilis war,
Hard tell how the gud king had thar
Gert hys schippis with saillis ga
Owt our betuix (the) Tarbart (is) twa,
Thai war abaysit sa wtrely
For thai wyst, throw auld prophecy,
That he that suld ger schippis sua
Betuix thai seis with saillis ga,
Suld wyne the Ilis sua till hand
That nane with strength suld him withstand,
Tharfor thai come all to the king,
Wes nane withstud his bidding,
Owtakyn Ihone of Lorne allayne,
But weill sun eftre was he tayne
And present right to the king." [1]

The result of this expedition was the complete dispersion of the English fleet and the seizure of John of Lorn, who was imprisoned in Dumbarton, and afterwards in Lochleven, where he remained during the rest of Robert Bruce's reign. The death of Robert Bruce seems to have procured for John of Lorn his liberty, and as his marriage with a relation of the Comyn had caused the forfeiture of his possessions, so he was now to recover his former

[1] Barbour.

station by a more politic connexion with the royal family. He appears to have married a grand-daughter of Robert Bruce, early in the reign of his successor, David II., and was in consequence not only restored to his possessions, but even obtained a grant of the additional property of Glenlion. These extensive territories were not, however, doomed to remain long in the family, for on the death of Ewen, the last lord of Lorn, they passed into the family of Stewart of Innermeath; John Stewart of Innermeath and his brother Robert having married his two daughters and coheiresses, and by an arrangement between the brothers, the descendants of John Stewart acquired the whole of the Lorn possessions, with the exception of the Castle of Dunolly and its dependencies, situated in the heart of their lordship, which remained to the next branch of the family.

Thus terminated the power of this branch of the descendants of Somerled, who at one time rivalled the other branches in their power and the extent of their territories. The chieftainship of the clan now descended to the family of Dunolly, who were descended from Allan, the son of John of Lorn, and brother of Ewen, the last lord, and who still survive the decay of their ancient grandeur. This family continued to enjoy the small portion of their ancient estates which remained to them until the year 1715, "when the representative incurred the penalty of forfeiture for his accession to the insurrection of that period, thus losing the remains of his inheritance to

replace upon the throne the descendants of those princes whose accession his ancestors had opposed at the expense of their feudal grandeur." But the estate was restored to the family in 1745, in consequence of their having taken no part in the attempt of that year.

Arms.

Quarterly. First and fourth. In a field azure, a lion rampant, argent, for Macdogall. Second and third. Or, a lymphad sable, with flame of fire issuing out of the topmast, proper, for Lorn.

Badge.

Cypress.

Principal Seat.

Lorn.

Oldest Cadet.

Macdogall of Raray.

Chief.

Macdogall of Dunolly.

Force.

In 1745, 200.

SIOL GILLEVRAY.

Besides the Macdonalds and the Macdogalls, the MS. of 1450 deduces various others of the Argyllshire clans from the same race. According to that ancient document, a certain Gillebride rig eilan, or king of the Isles, lived in the twelfth century, and was descended from a brother of Suibne, the ancestor of the Macdonalds slain in 1034; and from Anradan, or Henry, the son of Gillebride, the same authority

deduces the Macneills, Maclachlans, Macewens, and Maclaisrichs. That the genealogy by which this Gillebride is brought from an ancestor of the Macdonells, in the beginning of the eleventh century, is authentic, is perhaps more than we are entitled to assert; but the existence of a traditionary affinity between these clans and the race of Somerled at so early a period, sufficiently proves that they were of the same race. Gillebride, probably, merely possessed the Norwegian title of a Sudreya Konungr, or Hebridean king, which was bestowed on the principal Island chiefs; and the seat of his race appears to have been Lochaber, as the different clans descended from him can in general be traced from thence, and his immediate ancestor is termed "Abrice," or of Lochaber. I have ventured to call this tribe the Siol Gillebride, or Gillevray, as I find an old Sennachy of the Macdonalds stating that in the time of Somerled, "the principal surnames in the country (Morvern, Ardgour, and Lochaber) were Mac Innes and Mac Gillevrays, who were the same as the Mac Innes." It appears from this passage, that the oldest inhabitants of these districts consisted of two clans, the Mac Gillevrays and the Mac Innes, who were of the same race; and as there is a very old traditionary connexion between the clan A Mhaisdir, or Mac Innes of Ardgour, and several of the clans descended from Anradan Mac Gillebride, it seems to establish the identity of this tribe with the old Mac Gillevrays of Morvern. The various branches of this

tribe probably formed but one clan, under the name of the clan Gillevray, until the conquest of Argyll by Alexander II., when they fully shared in the ruin which fell upon those who adhered to Somerled, with the exception of the Macneills, who agreed to hold their lands of the crown; and the Maclachlans, who regained their former position by marriage with an heiress of the Lamonds. The other branches of this tribe appear, on the breaking up of the clan, to have followed as chief the Macdogall Campbells of Craignish, a family descended of the kindred race of the Mac Innes of Ardgour, who likewise attained to considerable power.

CLAN NEILL.

The Macneills first appear in the beginning of the fifteenth century, as a powerful clan in Knapdale; and as this district was not included in the sheriffdom of Argyll, it is probable that their ancestor had agreed to hold the district as a vassal of the crown. In the beginning of the preceding century we find that the district of Knapdale had been forfeited and given by Robert Bruce to John de Menteth, and in 1310 there is a letter by the king of England granting to John Terrealnanogh and Murquocgh, the sons of Swen de Ergadia, the lands of Knapdale, "que quondam fuit *antecessorum* dictorum Johannis Terrealnanogh et Murquogh," and from which they had been driven out by John de Menteth. This Swen appears to be the Swen Ruoidh alluded to in

an ancient manuscript genealogy of the Campbells, which adds, he was owner of a great castle Swen in Knapdale, and was Thane of Glassrie and Knapdale. The next notice of the Macneills is a charter by Alexander, lord of the Isles, dated in 1427, to Gilleonan Roderici Murchardi Makneill, of the Island of Barra, and the lands of Boysdale, in Uist, to him and the longest liver of his brothers procreated between Roderic Makneill and the daughter of Ferquhard Mac Gilleon, and failing them to the heirs whomsoever of the said Roderic.

But Barra was not at this time chief of the clan, as we shall afterwards see. In 1472 we find Hector Mactorquill Macneill, keeper of Castle Swen, witnessing a charter of Celestine, lord of Lochalsh; and from his office of heritable keeper of Castle Swen, which together with Knapdale had been again wrested from his ancestors by Robert Bruce, and granted to John of the Isles by Robert II., there seems little doubt that he must have been chief of the clan. Six years after this the family of Geya first make their appearance in the person of Malcolm Macneill of Gigha, who in 1478 witnesses a charter of John, lord of the Isles.

From this period the clan remained divided into these two families of Gigha and Barra, and exhibits the somewhat remarkable feature of part of their possessions being completely separated off and lying at a very great distance from the rest; and as both these properties appear in the possession of the clan

at a very early period, it is difficult to say how one part of the clan came to be so detached from the rest. This circumstance, however, has afforded grounds for a dispute between the Macneills of Barra and the Macneills of Taynish, or Gigha, with regard to the chiefship, a circumstance which can be easily accounted for when we recollect that the remoteness of the two possessions must have superseded all dependence or connexion between their occupiers, and that a long period of independence would naturally lead each of them to claim the chiefship of the whole. As late as the middle of the sixteenth century, it is certain that neither of these families were in possession of the chiefship, for in the Register of the Privy Seal there appears in that year a letter "to Torkill Macneill, chief and principal of the clan and surname of Macnelis;" and it is unquestionable that this Torkill was neither Gigha nor Barra, for at this date Macneill of Gigha's name was Neill Macnele, and that of Barra, Gilleownan Macneill. As this Torkill is not designated by any property, it is probable that the chiefs of the Macneills possessed the hereditary office of keeper of Castle Swen, in which capacity the first chief of the clan appears. After this period we cannot trace any chief of the clan distinct from the families of Barra and Gigha, and it is probable the family of the hereditary keepers of Castle Swen became extinct in the person of Torkill, and that his heiress carried his possessions to the Macmillans, whom we find soon after

in possession of Castle Swen, with a considerable tract of the surrounding country. Tradition unquestionably points to Barra as now chief of the clan, and in this family the right to the chiefship probably exists, although the extreme distance of his possessions, which he appears from the first charter of Barra to have obtained in consequence of a marriage with an heiress of the Macleans from the rest, led many of them to follow the Macneills of Gigha, and made the latter family almost independent.

Arms.

Quarterly. First. Azure, a lion rampant argent. Second. Or, a hand coupee, fess-ways, gules, holding a cross, crosslet, fitchee, in pale azure. Third. Or, a lymphad sable. Fourth. Parted per fess, argent and vert, to represent the sea, out of which issueth a rock, gules.

Badge.

Sea Ware.

Principal Seat.

Knapdale, afterwards Barra.

Oldest Cadet.

Macneill of Gigha.

Chief.

Macneill of Barra.

CLAN LACHLAN.

The Maclachlans are traced, by the manuscript of 1450, to Gilchrist, the son of Dedaalan, who was son of that Anradan from whom all the clans of this tribe are descended, and besides the high authority which this genealogy derives from the circumstance that there

is every reason to think that the author of the manuscript was a Maclachlan, it is farther confirmed by the fact that at the period at which the manuscript mentions a Gillepadrig Mac Gilchrist as one of the chiefs of the clan, we find in the Paisley chartulary, a charter by "Laumanus filius Malcolmi," the ancestor of the Lamonts, witnessed by Gillpatrick filius Gillchrist. Universal tradition asserts that they acquired these lands in Cowall, by marriage with an heiress of the Lamonds, and the manuscript apparently indicates the same fact, for it states that this Gilchrist married the daughter of Lachlan Mac Rory, while Lachlan Mac Rory is exactly cotemporary with Angus Mac Rory, lord of Cowall, chief of the Lamonds. Their original seat appears to have been in Lochaber, where a very old branch of the family has from the earliest period been settled as native men of the Camerons. But as this clan soon after their acquisitions in Cowall became dependent upon the Campbells, we are unable to furnish any history of the subsequent generations. Although the Maclachlans were thus reduced by the Campbells to a species of dependence, they still remained a clan of considerable strength, and for a long period do not appear to have been subject to any great change in their condition: in the year 1745 their strength was estimated at three hundred men.

Arms.

Quarterly. First. Or, a lion rampant gules. Second. Argent, a hand coupee fessways, holding a cross, crosslet, fitchee,

gules. Third. Or, a galley, her oars in saltyre, sable, placed in a sea proper. Fourth. Argent, in a base undee vert, a salmon naiant, proper.

Badge.
Mountain ash.
Principal Seat.
Strathlachlane in Cowall.
Oldest Cadet.
Maclachlan of Coruanan, in Lochaber.
Chief.
Maclachlan of Maclachlan.
Force.
In 1745, 300.

CLAN EWEN.

The Reverend Mr. Alexander Macfarlane, in his excellent account of the parish of Killfinnan, says, "on a rocky point on the coast of Lochfine, about a mile below the church, is to be seen the vestige of a building called Caesteal Mhic Eobhuin (i. e.) Mac Ewen's castle;" and he adds, "This Mac Ewen was the chief of a clan, and proprietor of the northern division of the parish called Otter." The reverend gentleman professes his inability to discover who this Mac Ewen was, but this omission is supplied by the manuscript of 1450, which contains the genealogy of the clan "Eoghan na Hoitreic," or clan Ewen of Otter, and in which they are brought from Anradan, the common ancestor of the Maclachlans and Macneills.

This family became very soon extinct, and their property gave a title to a branch of the Campbells,

of their history consequently we know nothing whatever.

SIOL EACHERN.

Under this name are comprised the Macdogall Campbells of Craignish, and Lamonds of Lamond, both of whom are very old clans in Argyllshire, and were, as we have reason to think, of the same race.

CLAN DUGALL CRAIGNISH.

The policy of the Argyll family led them to employ every means for the acquisition of property and the extension of the clan. One of the arts which they used for the latter purpose, was to compel those clans which had become dependent upon them, to adopt the name of Campbell, and this, when successful, was generally followed at an after period by the assertion that that clan was descended from the house of Argyll. In general, the clans thus adopted into the race of Campbell, are sufficiently marked out by their being promoted only to the honour of being an illegitimate branch, but the tradition of the country invariably distinguishes between the real Campbells and those who were compelled to adopt their name. Of this, the Campbells of Craignish afford a remarkable instance; they are said to be descended from Dogall, an illegitimate son of one of the ancestors of the Campbells in the twelfth century, but the universal tradition of the country is that their old name was Mac Eachern, and that they

were of the same race with the Macdonalds. This is partly confirmed by their arms, being the galley of the Isles, from the mast of which hangs a shield, containing the gironé of eight pieces or and sable of the Campbells, and still more by the manuscript of 1450, which contains a genealogy of the Mac Eacherns, deducing them, not from the Campbells, but from a certain Nicol Mac Murdoch in the twelfth century. When the Mac Gillevrays and Mac Innes of Morvern and Ardgour were dispersed and broken up, we find that many of their septs, especially the Mac Innes, although not residing on any of the Craignish properties, acknowledged that family as their chief. Accordingly, as the Mac Gillevrays and Mac Innes were two branches of the same clan, and separate from each other, as early as the twelfth century; and as the Mac Eacherns are certainly of the same race, while Murdoch, the first of the clan, is exactly contemporary with Murdoch, the father of Gillebride, the ancestor of the Siol Gillevray, there seems little doubt that the Siol Eachern and the Mac Innes were the same clan[1]. That branch of the Siol Eachern which settled at Craignish in the ancient sheriffdom of Argyll, were called the Clan Dogall Craignish, and are said to have obtained this property from the

[1] There was an old family of Mac Eachern of Kingerloch, and as Kingerloch marches with Ardgour, the old property of the Mac Innes, it strongly confirms the hypothesis that the two clans were of the same race.

brother of Campbell of Lochow in the reign of David II. Certain it is that in that reign, Gillespie Campbell obtained these lands on the forfeiture of his brother Colin Campbell of Lochow, and it is probable that from him the clan Dougall Craignish acquired their right. The Lochow family were afterwards restored from this forfeiture, and the Craignish family were then obliged to hold their lands of the Argyll family.

They remained for some time after this a powerful family, though unable eventually to resist that influence which swept all the neighbouring clans under the power of the Campbells, where they soon became identified with the other clans which had been compelled to assume the name of Campbell and to give up their existence as a clan, to swell the already overgrown size of that powerful race.

CLAN LAMOND.

There are few traditions more universally believed in the Highlands, or which can be traced back to an earlier period, than that the Lamonds were the most ancient proprietors of Cowall, and that the Stewarts, Maclachlans, and Campbells, obtained their possessions in that district by marriage with daughters of that family. At an early period, we find that a small part of Upper Cowall was included in the sheriffdom of Argyll, while the rest of the district remained in the shire of Perth; it is plain, therefore, that the lord of Lower Cowall

had, on the conquest of Argyll by Alexander II., submitted to the king, and obtained a crown charter. Towards the end of the same century, we find the high steward in possession of Lower Cowall, and the Maclachlans in that of Strathlachlan; and as it appears that, in 1242, Alexander the high steward married Jean, the daughter of James, son of Angus Mac Rory, said to be lord of Bute, while the manuscript of 1450 informs us, that about the same period Gilchrist Maclachlan married the daughter of Lachlan Mac Rory,—it seems probable that this Roderic or Rory was the person who obtained the crown charter of Lower Cowall, and that by these marriages the property passed to the Stewarts and Maclachlans. The identity of these facts with the tradition, at the same time indicate, that Angus Mac Rory was the ancestor of the Lamonds.

After the marriage of the Stewart with his heiress, the next of the Lamonds whom we trace is "Duncanus filius Ferchar," and "Laumanus filius Malcolmi nepos ejusdem Duncani," who grant a charter to the monks of Paisley, of the lands of Kilmor near Lochgilp, and of the lands "*quas nos et antecessores nostri* apud Kilmun habuerunt." In the same year there is a charter by Laumanus filius Malcolmi, of Kilfinan, and this last charter is confirmed in 1295 by "Malcolmus filius et hæres domini quondam Laumani." That this Laumanus was the ancestor of the Lamonds is proved by an instrument, in 1466, between the monastery of Paisley

and John Lamond of that ilk, regarding the lands of Kilfinan, in which it is expressly said, that these lands had belonged to John Lamond's ancestors. From Laumanus the clan appear to have taken the name of Maclaman or Lamond; and previous to Laumanus they unquestionably bore the name of Macerachar, and clan ic Earachar. The close connexion of this clan with the clan Dougall Craignish is marked out by the same circumstances which have indicated the other branches of that tribe; for during the power of the Craignish family, a great portion of the clan ic Earachar followed that family as their natural chief, although they had no feudal right to their services. There is one peculiarity connected with the Lamonds, that although by no means a powerful clan, their genealogy can be proved by charters, at a time when most other Highland families are obliged to have recourse to the uncertain lights of tradition, and the genealogies of their ancient sennachies; but their great antiquity could not protect the Lamonds from the encroachments of the Campbells, by whom they were soon reduced to as small a portion of their original possessions in Lower Cowall, as the other Argyllshire clans had been of theirs. As a clan, the Lamonds were of very much the same station as the Maclachlans, and like them, they have still retained a part of their ancient possessions.

Arms.

Azure, a lion rampant argent.

Badge.

Crab-apple tree.

Principal Seat.

Lower Cowall.

Chief.

Lamond of Lamond.

CHAPTER V.

The Gallgael, continued.

ATHOLL.

THE district of Atholl unquestionably formed, from the very earliest period, one of the principal possessions of the powerful and extensive tribe of the Gallgael: but it possesses peculiar claims to our attention from the fact, that it is the earliest district in Scotland which is mentioned in history, and that it has, from a remote period, preserved its name and its boundaries unaltered. Its principal interest, however, arises from the strong presumption which exists, that the family which gave a long line of kings to the Scottish throne, from the eleventh to the fourteenth century, took their origin from this district, to which they can be traced before the marriage of their ancestor with the daughter of Malcolm II. raised them to the throne of Scotland. When Thorfinn, the earl of Orkney, conquered the North of Scotland, the only part of the territory of the Northern Picts which remained unsubjected to his power was the district of Atholl and part of Argyll.

The king of the Gallgael was slain in the unsuccessful attempt to preserve the Isles, and the king of the Scots, with the whole of his nobility, had fallen in the short but bloody campaign, which laid the North of Scotland under the Norwegian earl.

Had any of the Scottish nobility remained, of sufficient power to offer the least resistance to the progress of the Norwegians, there can be little doubt that he would naturally have been placed on the throne; but in the disastrous condition to which the Scots were reduced, they had recourse to Duncan, the son of Crinan, abbot of Dunkeld, by the daughter of Malcolm, the last Scottish king. Duncan, after a reign of six years, was slain in an attempt to recover the northern districts from the Norwegians; and his sons were driven out by Macbeth, who thus added the South of Scotland, for the time, to the Norwegian conquest.

The circumstances attending the establishment of the race of Crinan again on the throne are well known; but there is no fact which so completely establishes the entire overthrow of the Scots, and that the country wrested by Malcolm Kenmore from the Norwegians, had been completely divested of its nobility, than this, that Malcolm's family were no sooner in possession of the crown, than they divided the Lowlands of Scotland into earldoms, according to the Saxon polity, which were *all of them granted to different members of the royal family.* The districts included in Thorfinn's original conquest,

we know reverted to the descendants of the original proprietors, but the earldoms into which the rest of the country was divided, can all be traced originally in the possession of Malcolm Kenmore.

These earldoms, however, consisted of exactly the country actually inhabited by the *Scots, and the earldom of Atholl* possessed by the *Northern* PICTS. The establishment of Malcolm Kenmore, as king of Scotland, would, in the circumstances, place the *Scottish* districts at his disposal, and there is therefore the strongest presumption that Atholl was the original possession of his race before they ascended the throne. This is confirmed by the circumstance that when the descendants of Duncan, the eldest son of Malcolm Kenmore, were excluded from the crown by his younger sons, they succeeded, nevertheless, as we shall afterwards see, to the earldom of Atholl, and still more by the designation which our earlier historians gave to Crinan, the founder of this royal race. Fordun, in mentioning the marriage of Crinan, abbot of Dunkeld, with Beatrice, daughter of Malcolm II., the issue of which marriage was Duncan, who succeeded his maternal grandfather, and was murdered by Macbeth, styles Crinan "*Abthanus de Dul* ac seneschallus insularum." With regard to the first of these two titles, Pinkerton remarks, "To support this nonsense, Fordun brings more nonsense, and tells us *abba* is father, and *thana* is respondence vel numerans, and the abthane was a

chamberlain, who managed the king's rent and treasury. But who," adds Pinkerton, "ever heard of an abthane? and who knows not that Dull, a village, could not give a title which was, in that age, territorial?" and in this remark he has been followed by all subsequent historians.

The following notices will shew, not only that there was such a title as abthane in Scotland, but even that that very title of Abthane of Dull existed to a late period, and consequently that Pinkerton, in denying its existence, only betrays his gross ignorance, and want of real research into the minuter parts of Scottish history.

Charter.—William the Lyon to the Bishop of Dunkeld, of terra de *Abbethayn de Kilmichael*, in Strathardolf[1].

Charter.—Hugh, Bishop of Dunkeld, of reditu viginti solidorum qui nos et clericos nostros contingit de Abthania de Dull[2].

Charter.—William the Lion to Gilbert, Earl of Stratherne, of Madderty, and confirmation by Galfridus, Bishop of Dunkeld, of the said grant to the church of Madderty, et super terra qui *Abthen de Madderdyn* dicitur et super quieta clamatione de Can et Conneck qui clerici Dunkelden *antiquitus ab eadem Abthen* perceperunt[3].

[1] Chartulary of Dunfermline.

[2] Chartulary of St. Andrew's.

[3] Chartulary of Inchaffray.

Charter by David II. to John Drummond, of the office of Baillierie, of the *Abthain of Dull*, in Athol [1]; and

Charter by the same king to Donald Macnayre, terre de Ester Fossache, *in Abthania de Dull*, in vic de Perth [2].

These notices establish the existence of Abthanes and Abthainries in Scotland, and also of the particular Abthainry of Dull in Atholl. As it is very plain, however, that Fordun neither knew what it meant, nor of the existence of the Abthainrie of Dull, independent of Crinan, it appears evident that he must have drawn his information from some authentic document, for it is impossible to suppose that he would invent a title which he could not explain, or if he had been aware of the actual existence of the Abthainrie of Dull in after times, that he would have given the absurd explanation which he did. Crinan is the first person who can be traced of that race which gave so many kings to Scotland from Duncan to Alexander III.; their origin is lost in obscurity, and if, as we conclude, the titles given to Crinan by Fordun are drawn from an authentic source, it becomes a matter of great interest and importance to trace the origin and signification of the title of Abthane generally, and of that of Abthane of Dull in particular.

The title of Abthane is peculiar to Scotland, and

[1] Robertson's Index.

[2] Ibid.

does not appear to have existed in any other country. It also appears to have been of but very rare occurrence even in Scotland, for I have been able to trace only three Abthainries in Scotland—viz., those of Dull, Kilmichael, and Madderty; the two former in Atholl, and the latter in Stratherne. From this it is plain that it could not have been always a peculiar and distinctive title, but must merely be a modification of the title of Thane, produced by peculiar circumstances. The name shews that it must in its nature have been strictly analogous to the Thane, and for the same reason it must have taken its origin subsequent to the introduction of Thanes into Scotland. It would be needless here to controvert the idea formerly so prevalent in Scotland, that the Thanes were the ancient governors of the provinces, for it is now universally admitted that the Scottish Thane was the same title with the Saxon Thegn, or Thane, in England, and that it was introduced with the Saxon polity into Scotland; but it will be necessary to advert to an erroneous opinion first started by Chambers in his Caledonia, and since adopted by many, that the Thane was merely a land steward or bailiff, and that the Abthane was just the abbot's steward, in the same way as the king's thane was the king's steward. With regard to the Abthane this is impossible, when we consider that although there were many abbots in Scotland who must have had their land stewards, yet there are but three instances of the title of Abthane connected with land

in Scotland. His idea of the nature of the Thane is equally erroneous, for if the Scottish Thane was introduced by the Saxons, as Chalmers has succeeded in establishing, the characters of the offices must be the same; and nothing is clearer than that the Saxon Thane was not a land steward, but the actual proprietor of a certain extent of land held directly of the crown, and that it was the title of a Saxon land proprietor exactly equivalent to the Norman baron. Of course, judging by analogy, the Thanes and Abthanes of Scotland must have been also land proprietors. In order to ascertain the period in which they were introduced into Scotland, it will be necessary to advert shortly to the events in Scottish history which caused the introduction of Saxon polity. It is well known that Duncan, the son of Crinan, was killed by Macbeth, and that his son Malcolm fled to England for protection; and it is now equally clear that Macbeth was not the usurper he is generally considered, but that he claimed the throne under the Celtic law of succession, and that he was supported throughout by the Celtic inhabitants of the country, who inhabited all to the north of the Firths of Forth and Clyde, Lothian being possessed by the Angli. Malcolm Canmore was placed upon the throne by an English army. On his death, however, his brother Donald succeeded in obtaining possession of the crown, to the prejudice of Malcolm's sons; and as he claimed the throne on the Celtic law that brothers succeeded before sons, he was supported by the

Celtic inhabitants, and his party succeeded in expelling the English whom Malcolm had introduced. Donald was expelled by an English army composed principally of Normans, who placed Duncan, Malcolm's eldest son, generally considered a bastard, on the throne, but finding he could not retain possession of it without the concurrence of the Celtic party, Duncan was forced to dismiss the English once more—a measure which did not avail him, for he was slain by his uncle, Donald Bane, and the expulsion of the English completed. Edgar, his brother, now made the third attempt to introduce the English, and succeeded, but he was in a very different situation from his father and his brother: they had been placed on the throne by an English army composed principally of Normans, who left them when they had succeeded in their immediate object, but Edgar was, through his mother, the heir of the Saxon monarchy and the legitimate sovereign of all the Saxons, a part of whom possessed the south of Scotland. This is a fact which has not been attended to in Scottish history, but it is a most important one; and it is certain that Edgar entered Scotland at the head of a purely Saxon army, and that during his reign and that of his successor, Alexander I., the constitution of Scotland was purely Saxon. The Norman barons and Norman institutions were not introduced till the accession of David I., who had previously been to all intents and purposes a Norman baron, and possessed through his wife an extensive Norman

barony. Previous to his accession in 1124 there is not a trace of Normanism, if I may be allowed the expression, in Scotland, and we find no other titles of honour than just the two denominations of Saxon landholders, the eorl or earl, and the Thegn or Thane. It is consequently during these two reigns, or between the years 1098 and 1124, that we must look for the origin of Abthanes.

We have already remarked, that Abthane was strictly analogous to Thane, and consequently implies a Saxon landed proprietor; and the name shews that Abthanus and Abthania are the same words with Thanus and Thanagum, with the addition of the prefix Ab. It follows, therefore, that that prefix must express some characteristic of an ordinary Thanus; in other words, that the Abthanus was a landed proprietor, with an additional character expressed by the syllable Ab. The syllable, however, is manifestly derived from Abbas, an abbot; and here we are at once supported by the analogous case of the German Abbacomites. Du Cange defines them to be "Abbates qui simul erant comites," and refers to the similar term of Abba milites, implying abbots who held lands of a subject superior; there can, therefore, be little doubt, judging by analogy, that Abthanus was just Abbas qui simul erat Thanus, or an abbot who possessed a Thanedom; and as Thanedoms were certainly hereditary in Scotland, the name once applied to the lands would always remain. Such being manifestly the origin of Ab-

thanedoms generally, we shall now be better enabled to ascertain the origin of the three Abthanedoms of Dull, Kilmichael, and Madderty. From what has been said, it is plain that the Abthaneries were just Thanedoms held of the crown by an abbot, and that they must have been so created between 1098 and 1124. It is, however, a remarkable circumstance, that these three Abthanedoms were in two essential respects in the very same situation, for, first, as appears from the charters previously quoted, they were at the earliest period at which we can trace them *in the crown;* 2dly, that the monks of *Dunkeld* had ancient rights connected with all of them. From the previous arguments regarding Abthanes, these facts can be accounted for in one way only. They must in the first place have been all created during the reign of Edgar or Alexander I.; in the second place, the rights possessed by the monks of Dunkeld, to the exclusion of their bishop, proves that the abbas who possessed them all must have been the Culdee abbot of Dunkeld, who was only superseded by the bishop in the reign of David I.; and thirdly, as we find them all in the crown at such an early period, the king of Scotland must have been that abbot's heir. Now it is a very remarkable circumstance that these three facts are actually true of the abbot of Dunkeld during the reign of Edgar, for he was Ethelred Edgar's youngest brother, and he died without issue, so that the king of Scotland was in reality his heir. As the arguments regarding the

necessary origin of these three Abthanedoms are thus so remarkably supported by the fact that there did exist at the time a person in whom these requisites are to be found, a fact otherwise so very unlikely to occur, we are warranted in concluding that this was their real origin, and that Ethelred, the abbot of Dunkeld, must have received from his brother Edgar three Thanedoms, which, in consequence, received the peculiar appellation of Abthanedoms, and which, upon his death, fell to the crown. It would also appear that as he was the only abbot of royal blood to whom such a munificent gift would be appropriate, so these were the only Abthanedoms in Scotland. This will likewise account for the appellation given by Fordun to Crinan. At that period there was certainly no such title in Scotland, but it is equally certain that there were no charters, and although Crinan had not the name, he may have been in fact the same thing. He was certainly abbot of Dunkeld, and he may have likewise possessed that extensive territory which, from the same circumstance, was afterwards called the Abthanedom of Dull. Fordun certainly inspected the records of Dunkeld, and the circumstance can only be explained by supposing that Fordun may have there seen the deed granting the Abthanedom of Dull to Ethelred, abbot of Dunkeld, which would naturally state that it had been possessed by his *proavus* crinan, and from which Fordun would conclude that as Crinan possessed the thing, he was also known by the name of *Abthanus*

de Dull. From this, therefore, we learn the very singular fact that that race which gave a long line of kings to Scotland, were originally lords of that district in Atholl, lying between Strathtay and Rannoch, which was afterwards termed the Abthania de Dull.

Besides the Abthanrie of Dull we find that in the reign of Alexander I., nearly the whole of the present district of Braedalbane was in the crown, and these facts leave little room to doubt that the royal family were originally, before their accession to the throne, lords of the greater part of Atholl. Duncan, however, succeeded to the throne in 1034, and at that period the whole of Atholl was under the dominion of the Gallgael. Of this race then the descendants of Crinan must unquestionably be, and this is singularly corroborative of the title of Senneschallus *insularum*, likewise given to Crinan by Fordun, and which must have reached Fordun from the same source with that of Abthanus de Dull, and is consequently equally authentic. The exact connexion of Crinan with the family of the Gallgael kings, it would of course be difficult to point out, but it may not be improper to mention that there exists a very old tradition to which other circumstances lead me to attach considerable credit, viz. that Crinan was the son of Kenneth, Thane of the Isles[1], and if this be true, he would thus be the brother of Suibne,

[1] Ancient history of the Drummonds.

the last regulus of the Gallgael, and by the operation of the Gaelic law of tanistry, Duncan might, during his life, have been at the head of this numerous and powerful tribe.

By Edgar, the whole of Atholl, with the exception of Braedalbane, was erected into an earldom and bestowed upon Madach, the son of his father's brother[1], and on his death, towards the end of the reign of David I., it was obtained by Malcolm, the son of Duncan, the eldest son of Malcolm Kenmore[2], either because the exclusion of that family from the throne could not deprive them of the original property of the family, to which they were entitled to succeed, or as a compensation for the loss of the crown. The earldom was enjoyed in succession by his son Malcolm, and his grandson Henry, and on the death of the latter, in the beginning of the thirteenth century, his granddaughters, by his eldest son, who predeceased him, carried the earldom into the families of Galloway and Hastings, from whom it latterly came to the family of De Strathboggie[3]. When the Celtic earls of

[1] Orkneyinga Saga.

[2] That Malcolm was the son of Duncan is proved by a charter in the Chartulary of Dunfermline. In that charter Malcolm implies that he was descended of more than one king buried at Dunfermline, which is only possible on this supposition.

[3] The peerage writers have been more than usually inaccurate in their account of the earldom of Atholl. From its origin down to the fourteenth century there is scarcely a single step in the genealogy which is correctly given in the peerage.

Atholl thus became extinct, and in consequence the subordinate clans assumed independence, we find the principal part of Atholl in the possession of the clan Donnachie or Robertsons.

CLAN DONNACHIE.

The tradition which has hitherto been received of this clan, indicates, that they are a branch of the clan Donald, and that Duncan Reamhar, the first of the Robertsons of Struan, was a son of Angus Mor, lord of the Isles. Unfortunately, the Robertsons are not one of the clans noticed in the manuscript of 1450; but nevertheless, that manuscript affords a strong presumption that this tradition is unfounded,—for although it details all the branches of the Macdonalds with great minuteness and accuracy, and especially the descendants of the sons of Angus Mor, it does not include the Robertsons among them, and this presumption will appear the stronger when we consider not only the great extent of territory which this Duncan, as we shall afterwards see, possessed in the district of Atholl, but that the arms of the two families are quite different, and that they do not appear ever to have had any connexion, as a clan, with the Macdonalds. There is also another fact which renders it impossible that this Duncan could have been the son of Angus of the Isles, and which consequently throws additional doubt upon the tradition, viz., that in several charters Duncan is designated " filius *Andreæ* de Atho-

lia"[1], and this designation "*de Atholia*" continued in the family for several generations afterwards.

The real descent of the family is indicated by their designation, which was uniformly and exclusively de Atholia. It is scarcely possible to conceive, that the mere fact of a stranger possessing a considerable extent of territory in the earldom, should entitle him to use such a designation. Atholia was the name of a comitatus, and after the accession of David I., the comitatus was as purely a Norman barony as any baronia or dominium in the country. It will not be denied that the name of the barony was exclusively used by its possessors and their descendants, and that the possession of a territorial name of barony as surely marks out a descent from some of the ancient barons, as if every step of the genealogy could be proved; and if we turn to the other earldoms in Scotland, we find it to be invariably the case, that those families whose peculiar designation is the name of the earldom, are the male descendants of the ancient earls. Thus the Northern families of "De Ross" can all be traced to the earls of that district, and the case is the same with Sutherland, Mar, Angus, Strathern, Fife, Menteith, and Lenox. The only apparent exception to the rule is in the case of the earldom of Moray, and in that the origin of the family of De Moravia is altogether unknown, so that

[1] Robertson's Index.

the probability is equally great that that family is descended from the former earls of Moray, as that they were foreigners. Further, although many families have at different times obtained extensive territories in several of the earldoms, even greater in proportion than those of the Robertsons, yet not a single instance can be found of any of these families assuming a designation from the earldom in which their territories were situated, nor is it possible to produce a single family not descended from the ancient earls who bear the name of the earldom. The designation De Atholia thus distinctly indicates a descent from the ancient earls of Atholl, but the history of their lands points to the same result. The possessions of Duncan *de Atholia*, who is considered the first of the Robertsons of Struan, consisted, so far as can be ascertained, of three classes. 1st. Those lands, afterwards erected into the barony of Struan, of which Glenerochie formed the principal part, and which were strictly a male fief. 2d. The barony of Disher and Toyer, comprehending the greater part of the present district of Braedalbane. 3d. Adulia, or Dullmagarth. By examining the ancient chartularies, it appears that these *last* lands were formerly in the possession of the ancient earls of Atholl, for Malcolm, the third earl, grants the "Ecclesia de *Dull* to St. Andrews,[1]" and this charter was afterwards confirmed by his son, Henry, the last earl.

[1] Chartulary of St. Andrew's.

Now it will be observed as a remarkable fact, that although the Lowland families who succeeded Henry in the earldom of Atholl, obtained possession of a considerable portion of the earldom by that succession, yet we do not find them in possession of Dull, which, on the contrary, belongs to this family, De Atholia. It is plain that this family could not have acquired these lands by force in the face of the powerful barons who successively obtained the earldom, and as we can only account for its not forming a part of the succession of these earls by supposing Dull to have been a male fief, it follows, of necessity, that the family of De Atholia must have been the heirs male of the family of Atholl.

But the other possessions point still more clearly to the real descent of the family; for there exists in the chartulary of Cupar, a charter by Coningus filius Henrici Comitis Atholie to the abbey of Cupar, from which it appears that he was proprietor of Glenerochie; and this charter is confirmed by Eugenius filius Coningi filii Henrici Comitis Atholie, likewise proprietor of Glenerochie. Glenerochie is the same as Strowan, and is included in the charter erecting the possessions of the family into the barony of Strowan; and as Strowan was at all times a male fief, it is scarcely possible to doubt the descent of Duncan De Atholia from Ewen the son of Conan the son of Henry, earl of Atholl. There is a charter, however, which still more clearly proves it. It appears from the chartulary of Inchaffray, that Ewen,

the son of Conan, had married Maria, one of the two daughters and coheiresses of Duncan, the son of Convalt, a powerful baron in Stratherne. Duncan's possessions consisted of Tullibardine and Finach in Stratherne, and of Lethindy in Gowrie; his eldest daughter, Muriel, married Malise, the seneschall of Stratherne, and their daughter, Ada, carried her mother's inheritance, consisting of the half of Tullibardine, the lands of Buchanty, &c., being the half of Finach, and part of Lethindy, to William De Moravia, predecessor of the Murrays, of Tullibardine. The other half of these baronies went to Ewen Mac Conan, who married Maria Duncan's youngest daughter. Now we find that in 1284, this Maria granted her half of Tullibardine to her niece, Ada, and William Moray, her spouse; and in 1443, we find Robert Duncanson, the undoubted ancestor of the Robertsons of Strowan, designating himself, Dominus de Fynach, and granting his lands of Finach, in Stratherne, consanguineo suo Davidi de Morava Domino de Tullibardine. The descent of the family from Ewen, the son of Conan, the second son of Henry, earl of Athol, the daughters of whose eldest son carried the earldom into Lowland families, is thus put beyond all doubt, and the Strowan Robertsons thus appear to be the male heirs of the old earls of Atholl. Ewen was succeeded by his son, Angus, as I find a charter to Angus filius Eugenii, of part of the barony of Lethendy. About fifty years after, this appears: Duncanus de Atholia filius An-

dreæ de Atholia, and as Duncan is in tradition invariably styled "Mac Innes," it is probable that this name was derived from this Angus, and that Andrew de Atholia was his son.

From this view of the earlier generations of the clan Donnachie, it would accordingly seem, that upon the death of Henry, the last Celtic earl of Atholl, the district of Atholl was divided, and that the eastern part descended in the female line, by the feudal law, while the western and more inaccessible part was divided among the male descendants of the old earls, according to the Highland law of gavel.

Andrew, of whom we know nothing, was succeeded by his son, Duncan, termed *Reamhair*, or Fat. Duncan acquired a great addition to his lands, including the south half of Rannach, by marriage with one of the daughters of a certain Callum Ruaidh, or Malcolm the Red, styled Leamnach, or De Lennox, whom tradition connects closely with the earls of Lennox. Malcolm appears to have been the same person with a Malcolm de Glendochart, who signs Ragman's Roll in 1296, for it is said, that the other daughter of Callum Ruaidh married Menzies, and it is certain that the Menzies possessed soon after Glendochart, and the north half of Rannoch. The descent of Malcolm from the earls of Lennox is probable, for we find John Glendochar witnessing a charter of Malduin third earl of Lennox in 1238. Duncan appears to have attained to very considerable power at that time, and to have been in

possession of extensive territories in the wilder and more mountainous parts of the district of Atholl. From him the clan took their name of clan Donnachie, and he is still the hero of many traditions in that country. Of Robert de Atholia, his son and successor, we know little. By marriage with one of the daughters and coheiresses of Sir John Sterling, of Glenesk, he obtained part of that property which his daughter Jean, however, carried into the family of Menzies, of Fothergill, and by his second marriage with one of the coheiresses of Fordell, he appears to have had four sons, Thomas, Duncan, Patrick, ancestor of the family of Lude, and Gibbon. During the life of Thomas we find the first appearance of the clan Donnachie, as a clan, when they played a distinguished part in the raid which the Highlanders made into Angus in 1392, in which Sir Walter Ogilvie, sheriff of Angus, and many other Lowland barons were slain. According to Winton,

> "Thre chiftanys gret ware of thaim then
> Thomas, Patrik, and Gibbone,
> Duncansonys wes thare surnowne."

Thomas had an only daughter, Matilda, who carried part of the property, by marriage, to the family of Robertson of Straloch. The barony of Strowan came to Duncan, Thomas's brother, who is mentioned in 1432, under the designation of "Duncanus de Atholia dominus de Ranagh," and who was succeeded by his son Robert.

Robert was a person of considerable power, and was held in great dread by the neighbouring Lowlanders, whom he was in the habit of continually harassing by his predatory incursions upon their possessions. Upon the murder of king James I. by the earl of Atholl and his accomplice, Graham, Robert was fortunate enough to arrest Graham, together with the master of Atholl, after the commission of the bloody deed; but any advantage which might have been gained by this act was thrown away by the reckless chief, who desired nothing more than to have the lands which remained to his family erected into a barony, which was granted to him along with the empty honour of being entitled to carry a man in chains upon his escutcheon, together with the motto of

"Virtutis gloria merces."

The historian of the abbots of Dunkeld relates a curious anecdote connected with the death of this chief of the clan Donnachie. It seems that Robert had some dispute with Robert Forrester, of Torwood, regarding the lands of Little Dunkeld, which the laird of Strowan claimed, but which had been feued by the bishop of Dunkeld to Torwood. Robert Reoch had consequently ravaged these lands, but upon one occasion, on his way to Perth, he was met near Auchtergaven by Torwood, and a conflict immediately took place between the parties, in which Robert was mortally wounded on the head. But the hardy chief,

heedless of the consequences, and having bound up his head with a white cloth, is said to have ridden in that state to Perth, and there obtained from the king the new grant of his lands of Strowan, as a reward for the capture of the master of Atholl, and on his return to have expired in consequence of the wound which he had received.

Notwithstanding that the remaining possessions of the family of Strowan had been erected into a barony, they were surrounded by far too many powerful neighbours to be able to retain them long. The greater part of the territories which once belonged to them had already found their way into the possession of the grasping barons in their neighbourhood, and being unable, in point of strength, to cope with them, every opportunity was taken still farther to reduce their already diminished possessions. Accordingly, some generations afterwards, the earl of Atholl, taking advantage of a wadset which he possessed over Strowan's lands, which in those days was not an uncommon mode of acquiring property, succeeded in obtaining possession of nearly the half of the estates which remained to them; and notwithstanding the manifest injustice of the transaction, the Robertsons were never afterwards able to recover possession of their lands, or to obtain satisfaction against a nobleman of so much power and influence. But in spite of the diminished extent of their estates, the Robertsons have been able always to sustain a prominent station among the Highland clans,

and to take an active share in every attempt which was made by the Gael of Scotland to replace the descendants of their ancient line of kings on the throne.

The deeds of Alexander Robertson of Strowan, in the insurrection of 1715, as well as his eccentricity of character and poetic talents, have made the name of Strowan Robertson familiar to every one; and although their estates have been three times forfeited, and their name associated with every insurrection of the Gael in Scotland, yet a descendant of that ancient race still holds part of the original possessions of the clan, with the name of Robertson of Strowan.

Arms.

Gules; three wolves' heads erased, argent, armed, and langued azure.

Badge.

Fern or brakens.

Principal Seat.

Rannoch.

Oldest Cadet.

Robertson of Lude.

Chief.

Robertson of Strowan.

Force.

In 1715, 800. In 1745, 700.

CLAN PHARLAN.

This clan is the only one, with the exception perhaps of the clan Donnachie, whose descent from the

ancient earls of the district in which their possessions lay, can be proved by charter, and it can be shewn in the clearest manner, that their ancestor was Gilchrist, brother of Maldowen, the third earl of Lennox. There still exists a charter by Maldowen earl of Lennox to his brother Gilchrist "de terris de superiori Arrochar de Luss," which lands continued in the possession of the clan until the death of the last chief, and had at all times been their principal seat. But while their descent from the earls of Lennox cannot be doubted, the origin of these earls is a matter of greater difficulty.

The ancient earls of this district have not been fortunate enough to escape the grasp of the modern antiquaries, and they alone of the native earls of Scotland have had a foreign origin assigned to them. The first of the earls of Lennox who appears on record is Aluin comes de Levenax, who is mentioned in the early part of the thirteenth century, and from this Aluin there can be no doubt whatever that the later earls of Lennox were descended. It unfortunately happens, however, that an Aluin Macarchill witnesses a number of charters in the reign of David I., and that in the previous century Ordericus Vitalis, a Saxon writer, had mentioned the flight of a Northumbrian nobleman named Archillus into Scotland, in consequence of the success of William the Conqueror, and although constant tradition asserts the earls of Lennox to be of native origin, this fact was sufficient for our Saxonizing

antiquaries unanimously to instal Archillus of Northumberland as the founder of the ancient earls of Lennox[1]. There are two facts, however, which materially interfere with this arrangement. First, several generations intervene between Archillus the Northumbrian, and Archill the father of Aluin. Secondly, as many generations intervene between Aluin Macarchill and Aluin first earl of Lennox, whose identity could only be effected by giving Aluin a long life of 120 years, and a family at the great age of eighty. Moreover, Aluin Macarchill on no occasion appears with the word Comes after his name, a fact of itself sufficient to shew that he had no connexion with any earldom. But, divesting this earldom of these puerile absurdities, its history is perfectly clear. During the life of David I., there is distinct authority for its being no earldom, but having formed a part of the principality of Cumbria. The next notice of Lennox is, that during the reign of Malcolm IV., and a part of that of William the Lion, their brother David, earl of Huntingdon, appears as earl of Lennox. And as Lennox was previously a part of the principality of his grandfather, there can be little doubt that it had been for the first time erected into an earldom in his favour. After his death the next appearance of the earls is contained in two charters; 1st. A charter relating to the church of Campsy, from "*Alwyn comes de Le-*

[1] The accurate Lord Hailes perceived the absurdity of this descent. See additional case under Lennox.

venax, filius et heres Alwini comitis de Levenax, Maldoweni filio et herede nostro concedente." 2d. A charter relating to the same subject by "*Maldowen, filius et heres comitis Alwini* junioris *comites de Levenax et heredes Alwini* senioris *comitis de Levenax.*"[1] And these charters shew that a certain Aluin had been created earl of Lennox by William the Lion. Who Aluin was it is almost impossible to determine, and in the absence of all direct authority we are driven to tradition, in this instance a surer guide, for the tradition is supported by documentary evidence. An ancient history of the Drummonds asserts, that the earls of Lennox, before they acquired that dignity, were hereditary seneschals of Strathérne, and baillies of the Abthainrie of Dull in Atholl. From the chartulary of Inchaffray, and others, we can trace the hereditary seneschals of Stratherne subsequent to the creation of Aluin as earl of Lennox, but not before; but it would appear that the later seneschals were a branch of an older family, who had possessed that office, and had been advanced to a higher dignity, for these hereditary offices invariably went according to the strict rules of feudal succession, and consequently remained at all times in the head of the family, but if the possessor of them was advanced to a higher dignity, incompatible with their retention, and had possessed more than one such hereditary office, they were in

[1] Napier's partition of the Lennox.

general separated, and given to different branches of the family. Now we find, that of the later seneschals of Stratherne, one branch possessed the seneschalship, and another branch the office of baillie of the Abthainrie of Dull; there must therefore have been an older family in possession of both of these hereditary offices, who had been advanced to a higher dignity; and that that family was that of the earls of Lennox appears from the fact, that the later baillies of the Abthainrie of Dull possessed the lands of Finlarig, in the barony of Glendochart, and held them as vassals of Malcolm de Glendochart, who was, as we have seen, a cadet of the earls of Lennox. This connexion of the Lennox family with the crown lands in Braedalbane warrants us, in the absence of other evidence, in placing the family of Lennox under the title of Atholl, and this is confirmed by the fact, that the only possessions which we can trace in the family of the earls of Lennox, or their cadets out of that earldom, were all in Braedalbane, and that we find them in possession of these lands from the earliest period.

Aluin was succeeded by his son, who bore the same name. This earl is very frequently mentioned in the chartularies of Lennox and Paisley, and he died before the year 1225, leaving nine sons. He was succeeded by his eldest son Maldowen, and among the other sons there appear to have been only two who left any male descendants. Aulay was founder of the family of Fassalane, who after-

wards succeeded to the earldom by marriage with the heiress of the last earl, and Gilchrist obtained possession of the northern portion of the district of Lennox, and became progenitor of the clan Pharlan, or that of the Macfarlanes. Maldowen, the third earl, appears to have lived till about the year 1270, and he surrendered to the king the stronghold of Dumbarton, which had previously been the principal seat of the family. Of the fourth and fifth earls, both of whom bore the name of Malcolm, little is known; their names, together with those of the earlier earls, having only been perpetuated in consequence of their numerous donations of land to the various ecclesiastical establishments. The latter earl was killed at Halidon Hill, in 1333, and in his son Donald the male line of this branch of the family became extinct. Margaret, countess of Lennox, the only daughter of Donald the sixth earl, married Walter de Fasselane, the heir male of the family, but any attempt to preserve the honours and power of the Lennox in the family proved unsuccessful, for Duncan, the eighth earl, their son, had no male issue, and his eldest daughter, Isabella, having married Sir Murdoch Stuart, the eldest son of the Regent, duke of Albany, he became involved along with his family in the ruin by which the house of Albany was overwhelmed. The honours and estates of Lennox were not however forfeited, but were possessed by Isabella, the widow of Duke Murdoch of Albany, under the title of Countess of Lennox, until her

death in 1460; and on her decease the earldom was claimed by three families—those of Napier of Merchiston, and Haldane of Gleneagles, the coheirs of her second sister Margaret, and that of Stewart of Darnley, who represented the youngest sister Elizabeth. It would be unnecessary here to enter into any detail of the measures by which the Darnley family at length succeeded in overcoming all opposition, and acquiring the title of earl of Lennox; suffice it to say, that they had finally accomplished this object in 1488. The earldom of Lennox having thus fallen into the possession of a Norman family, the clans which had formerly been united under the rule of the old earls, now became separate and independent, and the principal of these was the clan Pharlane or Macfarlanes.

The Macfarlanes were descended from Gilchrist, a younger brother of Malduin, earl of Lennox. This Gilchrist appears frequently as a witness to many of the Lennox charters, in which he is generally designated "frater Comitis." Duncan, his son, also obtained a charter of his lands from the earl of Lennox, in which the earl ratifies and confirms "Donationem illam quam Malduinus Avus mens comes de Lennox fecit Gilchristo fratri suo de terris superioris Arrochar de Luss." Duncan appears in Ragman's roll under the title of "Duncan Mac Gilchrist de Sevenaghes." From a grandson of Duncan, termed Bartholomew, or in Gaelic *Parlan*, the clan took their surname of Macfarlane, and the connexion of

Parlan with Duncan and Gilchrist is sufficiently proved by a charter to Malcolm Macfarlan or Parlan's son. This charter proceeds upon the resignation of his father, Bartholomew, son of Malduin, and confirms to Malcolm the lands of Arrochar and others, "Adeo libere plenarie quiete et honorifice in omnibus et per omnia sicut carta originalis *facta per antecessores nostros antecessoribus dicti Malcolmi;*" and from this Malcolm Macfarlane the whole clan are descended. To Malcolm succeeded his son Duncan, sixth laird of Macfarlane, who obtained from Duncan, earl of Lennox, a charter of the lands of Arrochar, in as ample manner as his predecessors held the same, which is dated at Inchmirin in the year 1395. This Duncan, laird of Macfarlane, was married to Christian Campbell, daughter to Sir Colin Campbell, of Lochow, as appears from a charter by Duncan, earl of Lennox, confirming a different charter granted by Duncan, laird of Macfarlane, in favour of Christian Campbell, daughter to Sir Colin Campbell, of Lochow, his wife, of the lands of Ceanlochlong, Inverioch, Glenluin, Portcable, &c. This charter is dated also in the year 1395. It was not long after the death of Duncan that the ancient line of the earls of Lennox became extinct, and there is strong reason for thinking that the Macfarlanes claimed the earldom as heirs male, and offered a strong resistance to the actual occupation of the earldom of Lennox by the feudal heirs. This resistance, however, suffered the usual fate of the

assertion of their rights by the Celts; and the final establishment of the Stewarts as earls of Lennox appears to have been preceded by the dispersion and almost entire destruction of this clan. The family of the chief fell in the defence of what they conceived to be their rights, and a great part of the clan took refuge in distant parts of the kingdom. The ruin of the clan, however, was prevented by the opportune support given by one of its houses to the Darnley family; and its head, Andrew Macfarlane, having married the daughter of John Stewart, lord of Darnley and earl of Lennox, saved the rest of the clan from destruction, and was put in possession of the greater part of their former possessions. Andrew Macfarlane does not appear, however, to have had a natural title to the chiefship, other than that of being the only person in a condition to afford them protection, for the clan refused him the title of chief; and his son, Sir John Macfarlane, in a charter to a William Macfarlane, designates himself honorabilis vir Johnnes Macfarlane, dominus ejusdem miles *Capitaneus* de clan Pharlane, filius Andreæ. After this, the Macfarlanes appear to have supported the Lowland earls of Lennox on all occasions, and to have followed their standard to the field. Little is consequently known of their history for some generations, and they appear to have continued to enjoy undisturbed possession of their ancient property under the powerful protection of these great barons.

In the sixteenth century we find Duncan Macfar-

lane of that ilk frequently mentioned as a steady adherent of Mathew, earl of Lennox. He joined the earls of Lennox and Glencairn in the year 1544, with three hundred men of his own surname, and was present with them at the unfortunate battle of Glasgow Muir. Macfarlane also shared in the ruinous forfeiture which followed that event, but being afterwards restored through the intercession of his friends, he obtained a remission under the privy seal, which is still extant. The loss of this battle obliged the earl of Lennox to retire to England, and having there married a niece of king Henry VIII., he soon after returned with some English forces, which he had obtained from that monarch. On this occasion the chief of Macfarlane did not dare to join the earl in person, but nevertheless his assistance was not wanting, for he sent his relative, Walter Macfarlane, of Tarbet, with four hundred men to join him. According to Holinshed, "In these exploytes the erle had with him Walter Macfarlane, of Tarbet, and seven score of men of the head of Lennox, that spake the Irishe and the English Scottish tongues, light footmen, well armed in shirtes of mayle, with bows and two-handed swords; and being joined with the English archers and shotte, did much avaylable service in the streyghts, mareshes, and mountayne countrys."

This Duncan is reported to have been slain, with a number of his clan, at the fatal battle of Pinkey, in 1547. His son Andrew was not less active in the

civil wars of the period, and took a very prominent part on the side of the Regent, exhibiting in this instance a contrast to almost all the other Highland chiefs. Holinshed again records the name of Macfarlane as being distinguished for bravery, for in describing the battle of Langside, he says, "In this battle the valliancie of ane Highland gentleman named Macfarlane stood the Regent's part in great stead, for in the hottest brunte of the fight he came in with three hundred of his friends and countrymen, and so manfully gave in upon the flank of the queen's people, that he was a great cause of disordering of them." The clan boast of having taken at this battle three of queen Mary's standards, which they say were preserved for a long time in the family. The reward obtained by the Macfarlanes for their services upon this occasion, was of the usual substantial nature of the royal rewards of those services when merited. The regent bestowed upon them the crest of a demi-savage proper, holding in his dexter hand a sheaf of arrows, and pointing with his sinister to an imperial crown or, with the motto, "This I'll defend."

Walter Macfarlane, the grandson of this chief, seems to have been as sturdy an adherent as his grandfather had been an opponent to the royal party. He was twice besieged in his own house during Cromwell's time, and his castle of Inveruglas burnt to the ground by the English. His losses on the one

side being of a somewhat more substantial character than his grandfather's rewards on the other had been.

It is impossible to conclude this sketch of the history of the Macfarlanes without alluding to the eminent antiquary, Walter Macfarlane, of that ilk, who is as celebrated among historians as the indefatigable collector of the ancient records of the country, as his ancestors had been among the other Highland chiefs for their prowess in the field. The most extensive and valuable collections which his industry has been the means of preserving form the best monument to his memory, and as long as the existence of the ancient records of the country, or a knowledge of its ancient history, remain an object of interest to any Scotsman, the name of Macfarlane will be handed down as one of its benefactors. The family itself, however, is now nearly extinct, after having held their original lands for a period of six hundred years.

Arms.

Argent, a saltier engrailed, cantoned with four roses gules.

Badge.

Cloudberry bush.

Principal Seat.

Arrochar, at the head of Lochlong.

Chief.

After 1493 the family of Macfarlane of Macfarlane were captains of the clan. The representative of the old chief is unknown.

CHAPTER VI.

II. MORAY.

Moray.

THE Maormors of Moray were, during the tenth and eleventh centuries, by far the most powerful chiefs in Scotland, their immense territories extended from the eastern nearly to the western seas, and their power and influence over the whole of the north of Scotland. They were the only chiefs who attempted, during this period to resist the encroachments of the Norwegians, and although that resistance was unsuccessful, yet in consequence of a connexion which was formed between the head of their race, and the Norwegian earl, the very success of the Norwegians ultimately contributed to increase the power of the Maormors of Moray, and to extend over Scotland the tribes dependent upon them. Three of these Maormors succeeded in attaining the crown of Scotland, and until the fall of their race, before the increasing power of the kings of the line of Malcolm Kenmore, they may be considered as kings of the Highlands.

It has been previously remarked, that the Highland clans are divided by the old Highland genealo-

gies into five great classes, and that one of these consists of the Macphersons, Macintoshes, and Macnaughtans; to these there is reason to add, as we shall afterwards see, the Camerons, Macleans, Macmillans, and Monroes; and this great division, which extends from Inverness even as far as Cowall and Kintyre, is proved by the same manuscript to be descended from the ancient inhabitants of Moray, for among the genealogies of these clans, it contains the genealogy of the ancient Maormors of Moray, and connects the other clans with that line. The old name of this tribe has also been preserved to us by Tighernac, who calls Finlay Macrory who was undoubtedly Maormor of Moray, "Maormor mhic Croeb." By the defeat and death of Donald Macmalcolm, king of Scotland and Maolsnectan Maclulaigh, king of Moray, by Malcolm Kenmore in the year 1085, the line of the ancient Maormors seems to have become extinct, and from that period the consequence of that powerful tribe began to decline. After the death of Maolsnectan the first person whom we find in possession of this district is Angus, who in the Ulster Annals, is styled earl of Moray and son of Lulach's daughter; Lulach was the father of Maolsnechtan, and Angus was thus the son of his sister.

Although these annals do not mention who this Angus was, yet we are enabled, by the assistance of the invaluable MS. so often quoted, to discover that he was the head of an ancient branch of the same family, for when Wimund, the English monk, who

claimed the earldom of Moray in the reign of David II., asserted that he was the son of this Angus, he assumed in consequence the name of Malcolm Macheth. As his supposed father's name was Angus, it is plain that the name Macheth which he assumed, was Angus's family name, particularly as Wimund's son, Kenneth, also called himself Kenneth Macheth. Among the Comites, however, who witness charters in the first years of David the First's reign appears frequently Head, Hed, and Ed, with the word "Comes" after it, and he appears along with the earls of almost all the other earldoms, so that he could scarcely have been earl of any other district than Moray. His date is circa 1125, Angus is killed in 1130, and if we add the fact of Angus's family name being Macheth, there can be little doubt that Head was his father, and the husband of Lulach's daughter, and that from him his descendants took the name of Macheth. At this period feudal succession, by which alone Head could have derived any right from his wife, was altogether unknown in Scotland, and as he was the first of the Maormors of Moray, who exchanged that name for the Saxon title of earl, it follows of necessity that his right to the position of Maormor must have been derived through the Highland law of succession; we should therefore expect to find this earl the head of some family closely connected with the former earls, to whom the earldom could have come by the operation of a strictly male succession.

It so happens, however, that the grandson of Gillichattan, the founder of the clan Chattan, by far the most important of those clans, whose descent from the ancient Maormors of Moray is established by the manuscript, is called by the manuscript, Heth, and that from a calculation of generations he is exactly contemporary with the children of Lulach. As this is so very uncommon a name, there can be little doubt, but that Heth was the same person who was the father of Angus, and who married the daughter of Lulach, and that he was hereditary chief of clan Chattan, the principal branch of the Moray tribe. He thus possessed a title to the earldom of Moray from his own descent, as well as from his connexion with the family of the previous Maormors.

The tribes of Moray had no sooner in some degree, recovered their strength after the blow they had received in the reign of Malcolm Kenmore, than their new Maormor commenced that course of determined opposition to the government of the feudal successors of Malcolm, which was not finally overcome for upwards of a hundred years, and the same adherence to the rights of the heirs of the throne, according to the Highland principles of succession, which the former Maormors had maintained for their own.

The attempt of the Moray tribes in the reign of Alexander I., which must have taken place during the possession of the earldom by Head, has already been alluded to, and on the death of Alexander I.,

a still more formidable attempt was made by Angus the next earl, in the reign of his successor David I., in the year 1130, when Angus, after having obtained possession of the northern districts of Scotland, advanced at the head of a numerous army into Forfarshire. At this time it appears that David was at the court of Henry, king of England, but Edward, the son of earl Seward, led an army into Scotland with which he defeated and slew the earl of Moray at Strickathrow, and after this event David seems to have taken the most prompt measures to quell the Moravians. In consequence of these measures the Moravians remained quiet for the unusual period of upwards of twelve years, but at the end of that time they were again excited to revolt by one of the most singular occurrences of the history of that period.

A.D. 1130.

An English monk, who had hitherto been known under the name of Wimund, and who had risen to be bishop of Man, suddenly announced himself to be the son of Angus, earl of Moray, who had been slain at Strickathrow, and thereupon prepared to assert his right to that earldom. Having collected together some ships in the Isle of Man, and having been joined by numerous adventurers, he appeared among the Western Isles, where he was immediately received by Somerled, who, actuated either by policy or conviction, acknowledged his right, and also evinced his sincerity by bestowing upon him his sister in marriage. Wimund, having

A.D. 1142.

assumed the name of Malcolm Macheth, now proceeded to invade the shores of Scotland, where he was joined by many of the northern chiefs, and even received the support of the Norwegian earl of Orkney, who declared him to be the earl of Moray, and married his sister. The assistance of the northern chiefs, and the natural advantages which the mountainous character of the country afforded to the prosecution of his enterprise, enabled Wimund for several years to sustain a war with David I. of Scotland, retiring to the mountains or to his ships when pressed by the royal army, and again renewing his depredations as soon as it was withdrawn. At length, however, he was betrayed and delivered up to David, who, in the spirit of eastern barbarity, caused his eyes to be put out, and imprisoned him in Rokesburgh Castle.

Historians have generally considered Wimund to be an impostor; but when, in addition to the improbability of any such imposition having either been conceived or likely to have been attempted with any prospect of success, we reflect, that the circumstance of his assuming the name of Malcolm Macheth proves at least that Angus had children, and if so, that they must of necessity have fled from the wrath of David; that Wimund not only received assistance from the Gaelic chiefs, but even from the earl of Orkney, all of them openly countenancing his pretensions; and that in the Norse Sagas he is distinctly styled Malcolm, earl of Moray, without any surmise of his

title to that dignity being doubtful or called in question by any one at the time,—we must admit that Wimund's claim may have been well founded.

When Wimund fell into the hands of his opponent, his sons appear to have sought refuge with Somerled their uncle; and that ambitious chief seems to have made their cause a pretext upon several occasions for invading Scotland. But as these invasions were generally succeeded by a peace, they were not productive of any advantage to his nephews. One of these youths, named Donald, was, in the year 1156, discovered lurking in Galloway, where he was secured, and imprisoned along with his father in Rokesburgh Castle. In the following year Malcolm appears to have come to terms with Wimund, who, upon being released from prison, resumed the cowl, and retired to the monastery of Biland in Yorkshire.

But there still remained one of the sons of Wimund at liberty, whose name was Kenneth, and who, undeterred by the fate of his father and brother, resolved to make another attempt for the recovery of his inheritance; and taking advantage of the insurrection of the Scottish earls in favour of William of Egremont, he easily succeeded in exciting the Moravians once more to revolt. The unexpected success with which Malcolm crushed the conspiracy enabled him likewise, after a violent struggle, effectually to subdue these restless assailants; and in order to prevent the recurrence of farther

insurrections upon the part of the Moravians, he resolved to reduce their strength by removing many of the hostile clans, and peopling the districts with strangers. The inhabitants of the northern portion were principally either driven out or removed to the crown lands of Braedalbane, in Perthshire, and the conquered district was bestowed upon the Norman families of Bisset, Thirlstane, and Lauder. A great part of the present county of Elgin was likewise depopulated, and strangers introduced, among whom was the Flemish family of Innes, while the whole earldom was bestowed upon the earl of Mar.

By these measures the Moravians were so completely crushed, that during the remainder of this and the following reign, they did not again attempt to disturb the peace of the country. Kenneth in the mean time having made his escape, after his defeat by Malcolm, and hopeless of obtaining farther support in Scotland, took refuge in Ireland, and solicited assistance from the Irish. He was there joined by Donald Macwilliam, who claimed the throne of Scotland in right of his great-grandfather Duncan, Malcolm Kenmore's eldest son, and having collected a numerous body of Irish followers, the two adventurers proceeded to invade Scotland, and made an inroad into Moray. They were there met by Ferchard Macantagart, the earl of Ross, who had judged it prudent for him to join the king's party; —the invaders were defeated, and both of the leaders slain. By this defeat, and the consequent death of

A. D. 1214.

Kenneth, it appears that the family of Angus became extinct: but the Highland law of succession had the effect of transmitting the claims of the family, together with the chiefship of the whole tribe, to the next branch of the clan, and accordingly we find that thirteen years after this event, a certain Gillespic[1] raised another insurrection in Moray. In his progress he burnt some wooden castles which had probably been erected for the purpose of containing garrisons to overawe the country; he surprised and slew a baron called Thomas of Thirlstane, to whom Malcolm IV. had given the district of Abertarff, and afterwards burnt Inverness. The king proceeded against him in person, but unsuccessfully; and in the following year William Comyn, earl of Buchan, then justiciary of Scotland, marched with his numerous vassalage upon the same enterprise, dispersed the insurgents, and slew Gillespic with his two sons. As we find that immediately after this event Walter Comyn, the son of the earl of Buchan, becomes possessed of the districts of Badenoch and Lochaber, while it is certain that these districts were previously possessed by the natives, we cannot doubt that this Gillespic was lord of that extensive territory, and that on his death Comyn received a grant of them from the crown as the reward of his

A.D. 1228.

[1] This Gillespic has been most improperly confounded with Gillespic mac Scolane, of the Mac William family, slain in 1221. Fordun, the only authority for both rebellions, carefully distinguishes between them.

services in suppressing the insurrection and slaying its head. Alexander II. followed up this success by his usual policy, and erected the portion of the earldom of Moray which was not now under the stern rule of the Bissets, Comyns, and other Norman barons, into the separate sheriffdoms of Elgin and Nairn. The authority of government was thus so effectually established, that the Moravians did not again attempt any farther resistance; and thus ended with the death of Gillespic, the last of that series of persevering efforts which the earls of Moray had made for upwards of one hundred years to preserve their native inheritance.

The extinction of the native earls of Moray now threw the various clans formerly united under their sway into independence, and the most powerful of these was the clan Chattan.

CLAN CHATTAN.

When the almost universal extinction of the Highland earls threw the Highland clans into the independent and disunited state in which they latterly existed, we find few of them in possession of such extensive territories as the clan Chattan. The whole of Badenoch, with greater part of Lochaber, and the districts of Strathnairn and Strathdearn, were inhabited by the various septs of this clan, and previous to the grant made to Comyn, these districts were held of the crown by the chief of the clan.

From the earliest period this clan has been divided

into two great branches, respectively following as leaders Macpherson of Cluny, and Macintosh of Macintosh, both of whom claim the chiefship of the whole tribe. The descent of the former family from the old chiefs of the clan has never been doubted, but the latter family has hitherto considered itself as possessing a different descent from the rest of the clan Chattan. The earl of Fife, of the name of Macduff, is claimed as its ancestor, alleging that the chiefship of the clan Chattan was obtained about the end of the thirteenth century by marriage with Eva, the daughter and heiress of Gillepatrick, the son of Dugall dall, son of Gillichattan, and chief of the clan.

But independently of the manifest unlikelihood of a tale so clearly opposed to the Highland principles of succession and clanship, the mere fact of this family styling themselves captains of the clan, claiming a foreign origin, and asserting a marriage with the heiress of its chief, leads to the strong presumption that they were the oldest cadets of the clan, by whom the chiefship had been usurped, while the manuscript of 1450 puts it beyond doubt that this story is not only an invention, but one subsequent to the date of the MS., and that the Macintoshes are as radically a branch of the clan Chattan as the Macphersons; for that invaluable record of Highland genealogies deduces the Macphersons and the Macintoshes from two brothers, sons of Gillecattan Mor, the great founder of the clan Chattan. That

there has long existed a keen dispute with regard to the chiefship of the clan Chattan between the Macphersons and Macintoshes is certain; and while the Macphersons have hitherto rested their claims upon tradition alone, the Macintoshes have triumphantly brought forward charters and documents of every description in support of their alleged title. But the case is now altered; and the investigations which we have made into the history of the tribe of Moray, as well as into the history and nature of Highland tradition, shew that the fact of the Macphersons being the lineal and feudal representatives of the ancient chiefs of clan Chattan rests upon historic authority, and that they possess that right by blood to the chiefship, of which no charters from the crown, and no usurpation, however successful and continued, can deprive them.

The MS. of 1450 puts it beyond all doubt that the Macphersons and the Macintoshes are descended from Neachtan and Neill, the two sons of Gillechattan Mor, the founder of the race; while the title of captain, the assertion of a foreign origin, and of a marriage with the heiress of the former chiefs, as certainly point out that the Macintoshes were a usurping branch, and that the Macphersons, whose descent from the old chiefs is not denied, alone possessed the right of blood to that hereditary dignity. The history of the earls of Moray is equally conclusive, that the descendants of Neachtan, from whom the Macphersons deduce their origin, were the eldest

branch and chiefs of the clan. The son of Neachtan, is Head, or Heth, and although he married the sister of the last Maormor of Moray, yet, that in his own person he possessed aright to the earldom independently of his marriage, appears from the fact, that he must have succeeded in 1085, before the title of earl or the feudal succession was introduced. His grandson, by his eldest son, Angus, was Malcolm Macheth, whose title to the earldom and consequently to the chiefship of his clan was acknowledged by all the Gaelic part of the population of Scotland, and even by the Norwegian earl of Orkney, while his grandson by his younger son, Suibne, was Muirich, from whom the Macphersons take their name of the clan Vuirich. On the death of the last descendant of Angus, his claims were taken up by Gillespic, and as he unquestionably possessed the districts of Badenoch and Lochaber before the feudal barons acquired possession of it, he must have been chief of the clan Chattan, the ancient possessors of these districts. This is singularly corroborated by the fact, that the oldest traditions styled Gillichattan the grandfather of Gillipatrick, whose daughter is said to have married Macintosh, Mac Gillespic, or son of Gillespic, while he must have lived at that very time. Gillespic was certainly not a descendant of Angus, earl of Moray, but his claim to the earldom proves that he must have been a descendant of Head. The identity of the Macheth family with the chiefs of the clan Chattan is therefore clearly established, and, at the

same time, the descent of the clan Vuirich, or Macphersons, from these chiefs, is proved by the MS. of 1450

This statement, supported as it is by the MS., and by documentary evidence of an antiquity far greater than any which the Macintoshes can produce, at once establishes the hereditary title of the Macphersons of Cluny to the chiefship of clan Chattan, and that of the Macintoshes to their original position of oldest cadets of the clan.

The circumstances which led to the establishment of the Macintoshes as captains of clan Chattan can likewise be traced, and tend still more strongly to confirm the position which has been adopted.

As the whole territory of Moray was at this period in the possession of different Lowland barons, in virtue of their feudal rights only, we know but little of the history of the various clans inhabiting that district till the fourteenth century; nevertheless it is certain, that the clan Chattan, with its different clans, continued to acknowledge the rule of one common chief as late as that period; for the historian, John Major, after mentioning that the two tribes of the clan Chattan and clan Cameron had deserted Alexander of the Isles after his defeat by king James I., in the year 1429, adds, "These two tribes are of the same stock, and followed *one head of their race as chief*." From other sources we know that these clans were at this time separate from each other, and were actually engaged in mutual hostili-

ties. But, notwithstanding, the passage distinctly proves that these clans had very shortly before followed one chief as head of their respective races.

It appears, therefore, that some event must have occurred about this time to occasion disunion among the different branches of the clan, and it is impossible to avoid being struck with the remarkable coincidence in point of time between this rupture and the singular conflict between the chosen champions of the two clans upon the North Inch of Perth, in the year 1396, which the works of Sir Walter Scott have recently made so generally familiar, but which has nevertheless baffled every enquirer into its cause or as to the lineage of its actors.

According to the oldest authorities the names of these clans were *clan Yha* and the *clan Quhele*, not the clan Kay and the clan Chattan, as they have generally been called. At the end of the contest it was found that only one of the clan Yha had survived, while eleven of the clan Quhele were still existing, although severely wounded, upon which it was determined by the king that the clan Quhele were the victors. Now there are but three clans in which any tradition of this conflict is to be found, that of the Camerons, the Macphersons, and the Macintoshes, and it is obvious that the memory of so remarkable a circumstance could never have been suffered to escape the enduring character of Highland tradition. The circumstances which attended the conflict, however, clearly indicate the Macpher-

sons and Macintoshes as the actors. From the brief but contemporary accounts which have reached us we can only learn two facts connected with its cause; first, that the dispute had broken out very shortly before, and secondly, that the singular mode of determining it was carried into effect by Sir David Lindsay and the earl of Moray. In ascertaining who the clans were who were engaged in this conflict, we must therefore look for some change in their situation immediately before the conflict, and for some especial connexion with the two noblemen who were principally interested in it. These are to be found in the clan Chattan only; for, first, by the death of the Wolfe of Badenoch, in 1394, that district which was nearly equally inhabited by the Macphersons and the Macintoshes, came in to the crown, and thus those clans were suddenly relieved, but two years before the conflict, from the oppressive government of that ferocious baron; and the attention of the clan would be at once turned from the necessity of defending themselves from the tyranny of their feudal superior, to their own dissensions, which, if such existed among them, would then break out; and secondly, it so happens, that at that very period, the remaining possessions of these two families were held of these two barons, as their feudal superiors, the Macphersons holding the greater part of Strathnairn, under Sir David Lindsay, and the Macintoshes being vassals of the earl of Moray, in Strathdearn. Every circumstance, therefore, leads us to

suppose the Macphersons and Macintoshes to have been the parties engaged in that celebrated conflict. Soon after this period the chief of the Macintoshes assumes the title of captain of clan Chattan, but the Macphersons have always resisted that claim of precedence, and at this period also, the Camerons seem to have separated from the clan Chattan. I am inclined to assume from these circumstances that the Macintoshes were the *clan Quhele.* In the MS. of 1450, the Macphersons are stated to be descended of a son of Heth, and brother of Angus, earl of Moray, and it will be observed, that the name, Heth, is a corruption of the same Gaelic name which has been changed by these historians to *Yha.* Clan Heth must have been the most ancient name of the Macphersons, and it follows, that they were the *clan Yha* of the conflict. The leader of the clan Yha, is styled by the old authorities, Sha Fercharson, that of the clan Quhele, Gilchrist Johnsone, and in the old MS. histories of the Macintoshes we find Gilchrist Mac Jan, at the period, while, according to the MS. of 1450, the chief of the Macphersons was Shaw, and his great grandfather's name is Ferchar, from whom he probably took the patronymic of Fercharson. From all this we may reasonably deduce, that previous to the fifteenth century the various tribes forming the clan Chattan obeyed the rule of one chief, the lineal descendant and representative of Gillecattan Mor, the founder of the clan Chattan; that in consequence of the rebellion of Gillespic,

then chief of that race, the territories of the principal branch were forfeited and given to the Comyn, and consequently that the family of the chief gradually sunk in power, while that of the oldest cadet of the clan, *i. e.* Macintosh, who was in consequence, after the chief, the most powerful, and whose principal lands were held under the easy tenure of the bishop of Moray and the good earl of Moray, gradually rose in power, until at length they claimed the chiefship, and from this cause arose the first disunion among the branches of this extensive tribe.

They became divided into distinct factions; on the one side there was ranged the Macphersons and their dependants, together with the Camerons; on the other side were the Macintoshes, with the numerous families who had sprung from that branch of the clan Chattan; and they were about to settle their difference by open war, when the interference of Sir David Lindsay and the earl of Moray produced the extraordinary conflict which resulted in the defeat of the faction adhering to the family of the ancient chiefs, and to the establishment of the Macintoshes as captains of clan Chattan.

In this manner the Macintoshes became the *de facto* chiefs of the clan, and consequently acquired the title of Captain, a title which at once indicates the absence of any right by blood to the chiefship, and from this very circumstance is their name derived; Toshoch being unquestionably the title anciently applied to the oldest cadets of the different

clans, and having no connexion whatever with the Saxon title of Thane, as has generally been asserted.

The conflict by which they finally established themselves in the power and dignity of head of the clan Chattan took place in 1396. From this period until the latter part of the sixteenth century, they remained, as leader of the clan, willingly followed by the cadets of their own house, and exacting obedience from the other branches of the clan, often refused, and only given when they were in no condition to resist. Soon after this period, they appear to have become dependent upon the lords of the Isles, and to have followed them in all their expeditions.

The first of the Macintoshes who appears in the records, is Malcolm Macintosh, who obtained from the lord of the Isles, in 1447, a grant of the office of baillie or steward of the lordship of Lochaber; and the same office was given to his son, Duncan Macintosh, in 1466, along with the lands of Keppoch, and others in Lochaber.

It is probable that he likewise obtained from the same lord that part of Lochaber lying between Keppoch and Lochaber, for, on the forfeiture of the lord of the Isles in 1475, he obtained a charter from James III.: "Duncano Macintosh, capitano de clan Chattan, terrarum de Moymore, Fern, Chamglassen, Stroneroy, Auchenheroy, &c.", dated 4 July, 1476; and afterwards, in 1493, he obtained a charter from

James IV., "terrarum de Keppoch Innerorgan, &c., cum officio Ballivatus earundem."

Macintosh having probably rendered the government considerable assistance on that occasion, these grants were the cause of long and bitter feuds between the Macintoshes and the Camerons and the Macdonalds of Keppoch, the actual occupiers of the land.

From this period may be dated the commencement of the rise of the Macintoshes to the great influence and consideration which they afterwards possessed. Two causes, however, combined to render their progress to power slow and difficult, and at times even to reduce the clan to considerable apparent difficulties. These causes were, first, the dissensions among the Macintoshes themselves, and, secondly, the continued feud which they had with Huntly, in consequence of their strict adherence to the earl of Moray. The dissensions in the clan commenced in the early part of the sixteenth century, with the accession of William Macintosh, of Dunnachton, to the chiefship. His title to that dignity appears to have been opposed by John Roy Macintosh, the head of another branch of the family; and after having in vain attempted to wrest the chiefship by force from William, John Roy at length murdered him at Inverness, in the year 1515. The perpetrator of this treacherous deed did not however attain his object, for, having been closely pursued by

the followers of William Macintosh, he was overtaken at Glenesk and slain, while Lachlan, the brother of the murdered chief, was placed in possession of the government of the clan. But Lachlan was doomed to experience the same fate as his brother, for, according to Lesly, "sum wicked persones being impatient of vertuous leving, stirrit up ane of his awn principal kynnesmen, callit James Malcolmsone, quha cruellie and treasonablie slew his said chief." On Lachlan's death, his son was under age, and therefore the clan, in accordance with the ancient system of succession, chose Hector, a bastard brother, to be their chief.

The earl of Moray, who was the young chief's uncle, became alarmed for his safety, and, in order to secure him against his brother's ambition, he carried him off, to be brought up by his mother's relations. But Hector was determined to repossess himself of the person of the young heir, and with that view invaded the lands of the earl of Moray, at the head of the clan: he besieged the castle of Petty, which he took, and put the Ogilvies, to whom it belonged, to the sword. Upon this, the earl obtained a commission from the king, and, having raised his retainers, he attacked the Macintoshes, and seized 300 of them, whom he instantly executed. Hector escaped, and fled to the king, to whom he surrendered himself, and received from him a remission of his former offences, but he was soon after slain in St. Andrew's; and the young heir, William Macin-

tosh, after having been brought up by the earl of Moray, was put in possession of his inheritance.

According to Leslie, "William wes sua well braught up be the meanes of the earl of Murray and the laird of Phindlater, in vertue, honestie, and civil policye, that after he had received the government of his countrie, he was a mirrour of vertue to all the Heiland captains in Scotland; bot fortune did envye his felicitie, and the wicket practises of the dissoluit lives of his awne kin sufferit him nocht to remaine long amang them; bot the same factious companie that raise againis his fader wes the cause of his destructionne."

Soon after the accession of William Macintosh to the chiefship, the feud between the Macintoshes and earls of Huntly commenced, and it appears to have been instigated by the acts of Lachlan Macintosh, the son of the murderer of the last chief, who had been received into favour, but who was still bent on the destruction of the family of the chief. But, however the feud may have originated, a subject upon which the accounts given in the different families are much at variance, it would appear that Macintosh commenced the hostilities, by surprising and burning the castle of Auchindoun. Huntly immediately moved against the clan, with all the retainers which his extensive territories could furnish, and a fierce though short struggle ensued, in which any clan less powerful than the Macintoshes would have been completely crushed; as it was, Macintosh found himself

so unequal to sustain the conflict, that, despairing of obtaining any mercy from Huntly, he determined to apply to his lady, and for that purpose presented himself before her at a time when Huntly was absent, and surrendered himself to her will. The marchioness, however, was as inexorable as her husband could have been, and no sooner saw Macintosh within her power, than she caused his head to be struck off.

The death of William Macintosh occasioned no farther loss to the clan, but, on the contrary, relieved them from the continuance of the prosecution of the feud with Huntly; for that nobleman found himself immediately opposed by so strong a party of the nobility who were related to Macintosh, that he was obliged to cease from farther hostilities against them, and also to place the son of the murdered chief in possession of the whole of his father's territories. The government afterwards found the advantage of restoring Macintosh to his patrimony, and preserving so powerful an opponent to Huntly in the north; for when the queen nearly fell into Huntly's hands at Inverness, in 1562, when that ambitious nobleman wished to compel her majesty to marry his second son, John Gordon, of Findlater, the timely assistance of Macintosh assisted in defeating this plan. Soon after this, the feud between Huntly and Macintosh once more broke out, and this circumstance was the cause of the final separation of the Macphersons from the Macintoshes, and the loud assertion by the

former of their right to the chiefship, which they have ever since maintained; for Huntly, unable to meet the united force of the clan Chattan, took advantage of the claims of the Macphersons, to cause a division in the clan: and, in consequence of the support of this powerful nobleman, the Macphersons were enabled to assert their right to the chiefship, and to declare themselves independent of the Macintoshes, if they could not compel the latter to acknowledge them as their chief. The history of the Macphersons, posterior to the unfortunate conflict on the north Inch of Perth, becomes exceedingly obscure. As they hold their lands of subject superiors, we lose the assistance of the records to guide us, neither do they appear in history independently of the rest of the clan. And it is only when, at a late period, they began to assert their claims to the chiefship, that they again emerge from the darkness by which their previous history was obscured. Previous to this period, finding themselves in point of strength altogether unable to offer any opposition to the Macintoshes, they had yielded an unwilling submission to the head of that family, and had followed him as the leader of the clan; but even during this period they endeavoured to give to that submission as much as might be of the character of a league, and as if their adherence was in the capacity of an ally, and not as a dependent branch of the clan. In consequence of Huntly's support, they now declared themselves independent, and refused all further obe-

dience to the captain of clan Chattan, as Macintosh had been styled.

In this they succeeded as long as the feud continued between Huntly and Macintosh, but when at length Huntly became reconciled to his adversary, and consequently gave up his unfortunate ally Macpherson, when he could derive no farther benefit from him, the Macphersons found themselves unable to withstand Macintosh, and many of them were obliged in 1609 to sign a bond, along with all the other branches of the clan Chattan, acknowledging Macintosh as their chief. But the long continued hostilities in which Macintosh soon after became engaged with the Camerons and other Lochaber clans, enabled Macpherson again to separate from him; and during the whole of these wars Macintosh was obliged to accept of his assistance as of that of an ally merely, until at length in 1672 Duncan Macpherson, of Cluny, threw off all connexion with Macintosh, refused to acknowledge his authority as chieftain of the clan, and applied to Lyon office to have his arms matriculated as "Laird of Clunie Macphersone, and the only and true representer of the ancient and honorable familie of the clan Chattane," which he obtained; and soon after, when the privy council required all the Highland chiefs to give security for the peaceable behaviour of their respective clans, Macpherson obtained himself bound for his clan under the designation of Lord of Cluny and chief of the Macphersons; but his legal pro-

ceedings were not so fortunate as his resistance by arms had been, for no sooner was Macintosh aware of what had taken place, than he applied to the privy council and the Lyon office to have his own title declared, and those titles given to Macpherson recalled.

Both parties were now called upon to produce evidence of their assertions, but while Macintosh could produce deeds during a long course of years, in which he was designated captain of clan Chattan, and also the unfortunate bond of Manrent which had been given in 1609, Macpherson had nothing to bring forward but tradition, and the argument arising from his representation of the ancient chiefs, which was but little understood by the feudalists of those days. The council at length gave a decision, which, perhaps, was as just a one as in the circumstances of the case could be expected from them. The judgment was in the following terms: "The lords of privy council upon consideration of a petition presented by Duncan Macpherson of Cluny, and the Laird of Macintosh, doe ordain McIntosh to give bond in these terms, viz., for those of his clan, his vassals, those descendit of his family, his men, tenants and servants, or dwelling upon his ground; and ordaine Cluny to give bond for those of his name of Macpherson, descendit of his family, and his men, tenants, and servants, but prejudice always to the Laird of McIntosh, bonds of relief against such of the name of Macpherson, who are his vassals.

(Sub^{d}.), Rothes." Upon this decision the arms were likewise recalled, and those of the Macphersons again matriculated as those of Macpherson of Cluny.

After this the Macintoshes remained in quiet possession of their hereditary territories, frequently at feud with Huntly and at other times at peace, and they appear to have constantly maintained the high station which they had acquired among the Highland clans with respect to power and extent of territory. Their feuds with the Camerons, with the accounts of which the earlier parts of their traditionary history abound, terminated by the place of that clan becoming supplied by another whose possessions in the Braes of Lochaber placed them too near to the Macintoshes to avoid collision, and their natural disposition was of too turbulent a character not to give speedy cause of feud betwixt them. This clan was that of the Macdonalds of Keppoch, and the circumstance which gave rise to the feud was this, the Macdonalds had no other right to the lands they inhabited than that of long possession, while the Macintoshes held a feudal title to the property which they had obtained from the lord of the Isles, and which had been confirmed by the crown on their forfeiture. This feud continued for several years with various success, but was finally brought to a close by the last considerable clan battle which was fought in the Highlands. Macintosh had come to the determination of making an effort to obtain something more than a mere feudal title to these lands, and with

that view, if possible, to dispossess the Macdonalds. He accordingly raised as many of the clan as still adhered to him, notwithstanding the separation which had taken place not long before between the Macintoshes and the Macphersons, and marched towards Keppoch with the assistance of an independent company of soldiers furnished him by the government.

On his arrival at Keppoch he found the place deserted, and he was engaged in constructing a fort in Glenroy in order to leave a garrison behind him, believing himself secure from any opposition in the mean time, when he learnt that the Macdonalds of Keppoch had assembled together with their kindred tribes of Glengarry and Glenco, and were stationed in great numbers at a place called Mulroy, for the purpose of attacking him at day break. Macintosh immediately resolved upon anticipating this design, and forthwith marched upon the enemy, whom he found prepared for the conflict. The Macdonalds were stationed on the upper ridge, under Coll Macdonald of Keppoch, and the Macintoshes had nearly surmounted the height of Mullroy when the battle began. The contest, though fierce and maintained with great obstinacy on both sides, was not of long duration, and ended in the defeat of the Macintoshes, the capture of their chief, and the death of the commander of the independent company. But the battle had not been long closed, when a large body of the Macphersons, who, considering that the honour of clan Chattan was compromised, had forgotten all former

feelings of rivalry, suddenly appeared and prepared to assail the victors. Keppoch, although victorious, was in no condition to renew the contest with a fresh party, and he therefore agreed to surrender Macintosh to them, who accordingly had the double humiliation of having been captured by the Macdonalds, whom he despised as mere refractory tenants, and rescued by the Macphersons, whom he had treated with so little forbearance or consideration.

The Macphersons did not take any advantage of the chance which had placed Macintosh in their hands, but escorted him safely to his own estates, and from that time forward Keppoch remained undisturbed in his possessions, while the Macintoshes and Macphersons continued as separate and independent clans, the one possessing the title of captain, and the other claiming that of chief of clan Chattan, for notwithstanding the decision of the privy council, the Macphersons have ever since maintained themselves altogether distinct from the Macintoshes, and took an active share in the insurrections of 1715 and 1745 as a separate clan, refusing to acknowledge the title of Macintosh to be either chief or captain of clan Chattan, and asserting their own preferable title. In the latter insurrection the name of Macpherson has become celebrated for the distinguished part which their chief took in that ill-fated expedition, but perhaps still more so for the conduct of the clan to their chief after the defeat of Culloden had

terminated the hopes of the Stuarts, and exposed Cluny to the vengeance of the government.

There is perhaps no instance in which the attachment of the clan to their chief was so very strikingly manifested, as in the case of the Macphersons of Cluny after the disaster of "the forty-five." The chief having been deeply engaged in that insurrection, his life became of course forfeited to the laws, but neither the hope of reward nor the fear of danger could induce any one of his people to betray him. For *nine* years he lived concealed in a cave at a short distance from his own house; it was situated in the front of a woody precipice, of which the trees and shelving rocks completely concealed the entrance. This cave had been dug out by his own people, who worked by night and conveyed the stones and rubbish into a neighbouring lake, in order that no vestige of their labour might appear and lead to the discovery of the retreat. In this asylum he continued to live secure, receiving by night the occasional visits of his friends, and sometimes by day when time had begun to slacken the rigour of pursuit.

Upwards of one hundred persons were privy to his concealment, and a reward of one thousand pounds sterling was offered to any one who should give information against him; and besides, as it was known that he was somewhere concealed upon his own estate, a detachment of eighty men was constantly stationed there, independent of the occasional

parties that traversed the country throughout, with a view to intimidate his tenantry and induce them by force or persuasion to disclose the place of his concealment; but although the soldiers were animated by the hope of reward, and their officers by the promise of promotion for the apprehension of this proscribed individual, yet so true were his people, so inflexibly strict to their promise of secresy, and so dexterous in conveying to him the necessaries he required in his long confinement, that not a trace of him could be discovered, nor an individual base enough to give a hint to his detriment. Many anecdotes are still related in the country of the narrow escapes he made in eluding the vigilance of the soldiery, and of the fidelity and diligence displayed by his clan in concealing him, until, after ten years of this dreary existence, he escaped to France, and there died in the following year[1].

After his death, the estate was restored to the present family, in whose possession it remains, and who are the lineal representatives of the ancient chiefs of the clan Chattan.

Arms.

Parted per fess, or, and azure, a lymphad or galley, her sails furled, her oars in action, of the first; in the dexter chief point a hand coupée, grasping a dagger pointed upwards, gules, for killing Cummine Lord Badenoch: in the sinister point a cross crosslet, fitchée, gules.

[1] Stewart's Sketches.

Badge.

Boxwood.

Principal Seat.

Strathnairn and Badenoch.

Oldest Cadet.

Macintosh of Macintosh is oldest cadet, and was captain of the clan for a period of two centuries.

Chief.

Cluny Macpherson.

Force.

In 1704, 1400. In 1715, 1020. In 1745, 1700.

CHAPTER VII.

Moray, continued.

CLAN CAMERON.

An ancient manuscript history of this clan commences with these words—"The Camerons have a tradition among them, that they are originally descended of a younger son of the royal family of Denmark, who assisted at the restoration of king Fergus II., anno 404. He was called Cameron from his crooked nose, as that word imports. But it is more probable that they are of the aborigines of the ancient Scots or Caledonians that first planted the country." With this last conclusion I am fully disposed to agree, but John Major has placed the matter beyond a doubt, for in mentioning on one occasion the clan Chattan and the clan Cameron, he says, "Hæ tribus sunt consanguineæ." They therefore formed a part of the extensive tribe of Moray, and followed the chief of that race until the tribe became broken up, in consequence of the success of the Macintoshes in the conflict on the North Inch of Perth in 1396. Although the Macphersons for the time submitted to the Macintosh as captain of the clan, the Camerons

seem to have separated themselves from the main stock, and to have assumed independence.

The earliest possession of the Camerons was that part of Lochaber extending to the east of the Loch and river of Lochy, and was held by them of the lord of the Isles; their more modern possessions of Locheil and Locharkaig, which lie on the west side of that water, had been granted by the lord of the Isles to the founder of the clan Ranald, by whose descendants it was inhabited. As the Camerons are one of those clans whose chief bore the somewhat doubtful title of captain, we are led to suspect that the latter chiefs were of a different branch from the older family, and had, in common with the other clans among whom the title of captain is found, been the oldest cadet, and in that capacity had come to supersede the elder branch when reduced by circumstances. Originally the clan Cameron consisted of three septs, the clan ic Mhartin, or Mac Martins, of Letterfinlay; the clan ic Ilonobhy, or Camerons, of Strone; and Sliochd Shoirle Ruaidh, or Camerons, of Glenevis. Of one of these septs the genealogy is to be found in the MS. of 1450, and it is apparent from that genealogy that the Locheil family belonged to the second, or clan ic Ilonobhy, for the first of the Locheil family who appears on record is Allan Mac Connell dui or son of Donald Du, who in 1472 obtains a charter from Celestine of the Isles, lord of Lochalche, to himself and the heirs male procreated between him and his wife, Mariot, daughter

of Angus de Insulis, with remainder to his brother Eugene Mac Connelduy, and the two last generations of the clan ic Ilonobhy are Donald Du and his son Eogan. The traditionary origin of the Camerons, however, like that of the Macintoshes and other clans, clearly points out the ancient chiefs of the clan, for while they are unquestionably of native origin, their tradition derives them from a certain Cambro, a Dane, who is said to have acquired his property with the chiefship of the clan, by marriage with the daughter and heiress of Mac Martin, of Letterfinlay. The extraordinary identity of all these traditionary tales, wherever the title of captain is used, leaves little room to doubt that in this case the Mac Martins were the old chiefs of the clan, and the Locheil family were the oldest cadets, whose after position at the head of the clan gave them the title of captain of the clan Cameron. There is some reason to think that on the acquisition of the captainship of the clan Chattan, in 1396, by the Macintoshes, the Mac Martins adhered to the successful faction, while the great body of the clan, with the Camerons of Locheil, declared themselves independent, and thus the Locheil family gained that position which they have ever since retained. Another circumstance probably contributed to place Donald Du at the head of the clan, for the Camerons having, along with the clan Chattan, deserted Alexander, lord of the Isles, when attacked by James I., in Lochaber, and having subsequently refused to join Donald Balloch in his in-

vasion of Scotland in 1431, that chief, after his victory at Inverlochy, resolved to revenge himself upon the Camerons, and attacked them with fury. The clan was unable to withstand his attack, and the chief was obliged to fly into Ireland, while the rest of the clan took refuge among the most inaccessible parts of that mountain country.

When the return of Alexander from captivity had restored some degree of order to his wild dominions, the family of Mac Martin were probably unable to resume their former station, and the oldest cadet, who on the occurrence of such events, and being generally the most powerful family of the clan, assumed the chieftainship with the title of captain, was now placed at the head of the clan. The name of this chief was Donald Du, and from him the Camerons of Locheil take their patronymic of Macconnel Du.

He appears to have raised the Camerons from the depressed state into which they had fallen by the vengeance of the lords of the Isles, and to have re-acquired for the clan the estates which they had formerly possessed. These estates had been given by the lord of the Isles to John Garbh Maclean of Coll as a reward for his services, but Donald Du soon drove him out of Lochaber, and slew his son Ewen. Donald Du was succeeded by his son Allan M'Coilduy, who acquired the estates of Locharkaig and Locheil, from the latter of which his descendants have taken their title. This pro-

perty had formed part of the possessions of the clan Ranald, and had been held by them of Godfrey of the Isles, and his son Alexander, the eldest branch of the family. After the death of Alexander, the Camerons appear to have acquired a feudal title to these lands, while the chief of clan Ranald claimed them as male heir.

At this period the feuds of the Camerons with the Macintoshes began, which with various success on both sides continued down to a late period, and that always with unabated bitterness. Allan Mac Coilduy was the most renowned of all the chiefs of the Camerons, with the exception, perhaps, of his descendant, Sir Ewen. "This Allan Mac Coilduy," says the manuscript history before quoted, "had the character of being one of the bravest captains in his time. He is said to have made thirty-two expeditions into his enemies' country, for the thirty-two years that he lived, and three more for the three-fourths of a year that he was in his mother's womb." Notwithstanding his character of one of the bravest captains, he was slain in one of his numerous conflicts with the Macintoshes and Macdonalds of Keppoch. The possessions of the family were still farther encreased, and feudal titles to their whole property obtained by his son Ewen Allanson. He appears, in consequence of his feudal claims, to have acquired almost the whole of the estates which belonged to the chief of clan Ranald, and to have so

effectually crushed that family that their chiefship was soon after usurped by a branch of the family.

It was during the life of Ewen that the last lord of the Isles was forfeited, and as the crown readily gave charters to all the independent clans of the lands then in their possession, Ewen Cameron easily obtained a feudal title to the whole of his possessions, as well those which he inherited from his father as those which he had wrested from the neighbouring clans; and at this period may be dated the establishment of the Camerons in that station of importance and consideration which they have ever since maintained.

Ewen Cameron having acquired a great part of the lands of the chief of Clanranald, and having been the cause of the downfall of that family, he supported the bastard John Mudertach in his usurpation of the chiefship, and in consequence brought upon himself the resentment of Huntly, who was at that time all-powerful in the north. After Huntly and Lovat had by force dispossessed John Mudertach, they returned separately and by different routes, and the consequence as might have been expected was, that the Camerons and Macdonalds pursued Lovat, against whom they were principally irritated, and having overtaken him at the head of Loch Lochy, they attacked and slew him together with his eldest son and three hundred of his clan. Huntly, enraged at this, immediately returned to Lochaber with a

force which prevented all opposition, seized Ewen Cameron and Ronald Macdonald of Keppoch, and caused them to be beheaded at Elgin.

From this period the Camerons seem to have been engaged in the usual feuds with the neighbouring clans, conducted after the same fashion as usual in those matters, so that their history does not present any thing remarkable until we come to the time of Sir Ewen Cameron, a hero whose fame has eclipsed that of all his predecessors. Sir Ewen, or "Evandhu" as he was called in the Highlands, seems to have possessed an uncommon character, and one of chivalrous features, only equalled perhaps by that of his unfortunate grandson, whose share in the insurrection of 1745 is well known. The grandfather was the first to join in the insurrection of 1652 in favour of the royal cause, and the last who held out against the power of Oliver Cromwell, and to whom, in fact, he never fully submitted.

Of the numberless anecdotes related of this chief, it would be impossible to give a full detail in this place, or to do any justice to his history in a work so limited. He is said to have killed the last wolf in Scotland, and he so often defeated the body of troops stationed in Lochaber, and so constantly harassed them, that they were obliged to remain confined in the fortress of Inverlochy, and were at length so desirous to be at peace with him, that a treaty was concluded on terms most honourable to Sir Ewen, and in which his political principles were

fully respected. One circumstance, however, regarding him, it may be proper to mention, being of more importance than all his exploits, as it illustrates the highly chivalrous nature of his character as well as the impression it had made upon others; and of the truth of this circumstance we have sufficient authority in the following passage of General Monk's letter. "No oath was required of Locheil to Cromwell, *but his word of honour to live in peace.* He and his clan were allowed to keep their arms, as before the war broke out, they behaving peaceably. Reparation was to be made to Locheil for the wood cut by the garrison of Inverlochy. A full indemnity was granted for all acts of depredation and crimes committed by his men. Reparation was to be made to his tenants, for all the losses they had sustained from the troops."

Sir Ewen joined the royal party at Killicranky, although then an old man, and survived till the year 1719, when he died at the age of ninety.

If Sir Ewen's character was equalled by any one, it was by his grandson. The share taken by that unfortunate chief in the insurrection of 1745, is well known to every one, and his conduct was such as to gain him the respect and admiration of all. The estates of the family became of course included in the numerous forfeitures of that period; but they were afterwards restored, notwithstanding that this clan had taken a part in every attempt made by the Highlanders in favour of the family of Stuart.

Arms.

Or, paly, barry, gules.

Badge.

Oak.

Principal Seat.

Locheil.

Oldest Cadet.

Cameron of Locheil was oldest cadet, and has been captain of the clan Cameron since the fourteenth century.

Chief.

Previous to the fifteenth century, Macmartin of Letterfinlay.

Force.

In 1715, 800. In 1745, 800.

CLAN NACHTAN.

The traditions of the M'Nachtans derive them from Lochtay, where they are said to have been Thanes, but the genealogy contained in the manuscript of 1450, puts it beyond all doubt that they were one of the clans descended from the tribe of Moray, and formerly united under its Maormors. The whole of the ancient district of Moray is still occupied by clans descended from that tribe, with the exception of one portion of considerable extent. This portion consists of that part of the ancient district which extends between the lordship of Badenoch and Strathnairn and the southern boundary of Ross, and comprehends the extensive districts of the Aird, Glenurchart, Glenmorison, Abertarff, Stratherick, &c. This northern division of the ancient district is intersected by Loch Oich and Loch Ness, and is chiefly in possession of the Frasers, Grants, and

Macdonalds, but as all these families can be traced as having acquired possession of the lands at different periods, and as deriving their origin from the occupiers of other districts, it is plain that we must look to other quarters for the early occupiers of this division of the territories of that tribe.

The first families that can be traced as in possession of this part of Moray are those of Bisset, a family unquestionably of Norman origin, and of Thirlstain, certainly a Lowland, if not a Norman family, and there can be little doubt that they acquired this district from Malcolm IV. in 1160, when we know that he planted a great part of Moray with strangers. The oldest authorities for this fact, however, are equally distinct, that he removed the old inhabitants and placed them in other parts of the country, for which purpose the crown lands must have been principally employed. It is, therefore, extremely probable, that those clans of Moray descent which we find at an early period in districts the most remote from their original seat, formed a part of the inhabitants of this district whom Malcolm IV. removed.

To them the Macnachtans certainly belonged, for their genealogy indicates a Moray descent, while their traditions place them at a very early period in the crown lands of Strathtay.

There is one remarkable circumstance regarding this clan, which is, that while the other clans can generally be traced to have previously formed a part

of some greater sept, the Macnachtans at a very early period appear in the same independent state in which they existed at a late period, and also, that they continued without perceptible increase or diminution of strength. Their earliest possessions, which they have always maintained, although they afterwards held them of the earl of Argyll, extended betwixt the south side of Lochfine and Lochawe, and included the glens of Ara and Shira, Glenfine, and others, while their ancient seat, the castle of Dunduraw, shews that they must at one time have possessed considerable power. They probably obtained these properties from Alexander II., on his conquest of Argyll in 1221, and must as crown vassals have formed a part of his army, to whom the forfeited lands were principally given. The MS. of 1450 deduces them through a long line of ancestors from Nachtan Mor, who, according to that authority, must have flourished in the tenth century; but the first chief of the family occurring in this genealogy, whose age we can fix with certainty, is Gilcrist Macnachtan, who obtained from Alexander III. the keeping of the royal castle of Frechelan in Lochaw, and this castle was for some time the residence of the family. In the reign of Robert Bruce, the baron Macnachtan is mentioned as having actively supported the cause of Baliol along with the lord of Lorn, and on that occasion the Campbells probably obtained a grant of a great part of their lands.

In the reign of Robert III. there is a charter by Colin, earl of Argyle, to Maurice Macnachtan, of sundry lands in Over Lochaw, and at the same period Morice Macnachtan occurs in the genealogy previously alluded to. After this we know very little of the family until the reign of Charles I., when Sir Alexander Macnachtan appears to have distinguished himself very much in the numerous civil wars of that era. On the restoration of Charles II., Macnachtan is said to have proved an exception to the generality of the royalists, and to have been rewarded with a large pension as well as the honour of knighthood. He did not, however, escape the fate of the neighbouring clans, and found himself as little in a condition to offer any obstacle to the rapid advancement of the Argyll family as the others. They accordingly soon joined the ranks of the dependants of that great family, and the loss of their estate some time afterwards, through the operation of legal diligence, reduced them still lower, until there was little left to them but the recollection of former greatness, which the ruins of various of their strongholds, and the general tradition of the country, would shew not to be visionary.

Arms.

Quarterly. First and fourth. Argent, a hand fess-ways, coupée, proper, holding a cross crosslet, fitchée, azure. Second and third. Argent, a tower embattled gules.

Principal Seat.
. Dundurraw on Lochfine.
Chief.
Extinct.

CLAN GILLE-EON.

This clan is one of those to which a Norman origin has for a considerable length of time been assigned, and it is said, that a brother of Colin Fitzgerald, the alleged ancestor of the Mackenzies, was the founder of the family. But this origin, as well as those of the other clans derived from a Norman source, appears to have been altogether unknown previous to the seventeenth century, and to be but little deserving of credit.

This clan has been omitted in the MS. of 1450, but the two oldest genealogies of the family, of which one is the production of the Beatons, who were hereditary sennachies of the family, concur in deriving the clan Gille-eon from the same race from whom the clans belonging to the great Moray tribe are brought by the MS. of 1450. Of this clan the oldest seat seems to have been the district of Lorn, as they first appear in subjection to the lords of Lorn; and their situation being thus between the Camerons and Macnachtans, who were undoubted branches of the Moray tribe, there can be little doubt that the Macleans belonged to that race also. As their oldest seat was thus in Argyll, while they are unquestionably a part of the tribe of Moray, we may infer that

they were one of those clans transplanted from north Moray by Malcolm IV., and it is not unlikely that Glenurchart was their original residence, as that district is said to have been in the possession of the Macleans when the Bissets came in.

The first of the family on whom tradition has fixed a name, is Gilleon, surnamed "ni tuoidh," from the word signifying a battle-axe, which it appears was his favourite weapon. He is said to have fought at the battle of Largs, but of his history nothing whatever is known. In 1296 we find Gillemore Macilean del Counté de Perth signing Ragman's Roll, and as the county of Perth at that time embraced Lorn, it is probable that this was the son of Gilleon and ancestor of the Macleans. In the reign of Robert the Bruce, frequent mention is made of three brothers, John, Nigell, and Dofuall, termed Mac Gillion, or filii Gillion, and they appear to have been sons of Gillemore, for we find John designated afterwards Mac Molmari, or Mac Gillimore.

John Mac Gillimore had two sons, Lachlan Lubanich, predecessor of the family of Dowart, and Eachin Reganich, predecessor of that of Lochbuy. These brothers lived during the reign of Robert II., and appear first as followers of the lord of Lorn; but a dispute having arisen between them and their chief, they left him and took refuge with the lord of the Isles. The island lord was now rapidly acquiring the supremacy over the other descendants of their great progenitor, Somerled, and they were ac-

cordingly at once received by him with great favour. But the usual consequence of a stranger entering into the country of another clan followed, and a bitter feud soon took place between them and the chief of the Mackinnons, which led to one of the most daring actions which has ever been recorded of any Highland chief. The lord of the Isles had set out on some expedition to the mainland in a single galley, desiring the Macleans and the Mackinnons to follow him, and the Macleans resolved upon taking this opportunity of avenging many injuries which they had received from Mackinnon, and killed him while in the act of mounting into his galley. Afraid of the vengeance of the lord of the Isles for this deed of treachery, they proceeded to follow up their act by one still more daring, and accordingly set sail after him. No sooner had they overtaken his galley than the brothers at once boarded it, and succeeded in taking the Macdonald himself prisoner in the very centre of his islands, and within sight of many of his castles. They then carried their captive to the small island of Garveloch, and thence to Icolmkill, where they detained him until the lord of the Isles, seeing no prospect of speedy relief from his degrading situation, agreed to vow friendship to them "upon certain stones where men were used to make solemn vows in those superstitious times," and granted them the lands in Mull which the clan have ever since possessed.

Lachlan Lubanich afterwards married the daughter

of the lord of the Isles, and was appointed by him his lieutenant-general in time of war, an office for which this deed had shewn him well fitted. The descendants of these brothers have disputed among themselves the honour of the chieftainship of the clan Gille-eon, but, although there are not data left from which to ascertain with any degree of certainty in which family the right lay, there seems little reason to doubt that the family of Dowart was the principal branch of the clan. Both families produce tradition in support of their claims; but when we consider that, upon the lord of the Isles being compelled when in the power of both the brothers, to give his daughter to one of them, Lachlan was selected; and that unvaried tradition asserts that his son commanded as lieutenant-general at the battle of the Harlaw; it seems probable, that Lachlan was the eldest brother, and consequently, that the Macleans of Dowart were chiefs of the clan Gille-eon.

Lachlan Lubanich was succeeded by his son Eachin Ruoidh ni Cath or Red Hector of the battles. He commanded as we have said, at the battle of Harlaw under the Earl of Ross, and it is said, that the Maclean and Irvine of Drum, having encountered on the field of battle, slew each other in single combat. He appears to have well maintained his epithet of "ni cath," although the Sennachy is scarcely borne out in history, when he asserts that he "commanded an army in Ireland, took the city of Dublin, and a fleet that lay in the harbour."

His eldest son, Lachlan, was taken prisoner at the battle of Harlaw, and detained in captivity for a long time by the Earl of Mar; his brother John, however, followed Donald Balloch with the Macleans in his expedition into Lochaber, and was present at the victory of Inverlochy. From this period until the forfeiture of the lords of the Isles, the Macleans adhered to these powerful chiefs, taking a share in all the transactions in which the Macdonalds were engaged. In the dissensions which arose between John the last lord and his son Angus Og, the chief of the Macleans took part with the former, and was present at the sea fight in the bloody bay, where both Macdonald the father, and Maclean, were made prisoners.

On the forfeiture of the last lord of the Isles, the Macleans assumed independence, and appear to have gradually risen upon the ruins of that great clan, in the same manner as the Mackenzies, Campbells, Macintoshes and others. The possessions of the Macleans now comprehended the greater part of the island of Mull, Movern, and many of the smaller isles, and became divided into the powerful branches of Dowart, Lochbuy, Coll, Ardgowr, Morvern, &c. Their history after this period exhibits merely a succession of feuds between them and the Macdonalds and Campbells, in which they were enabled to maintain their ground against both, by reason of their great numbers, and the nature of the country they possessed. But at length, towards the close of the

sixteenth century, the Macdonalds appear to have united for the purpose of effectually crushing the rising power of the Macleans. At the head of this union was Angus Macdonald of Kintyre, who had married Maclean's sister, and between whom and Maclean disputes had arisen in consequence of both possessing lands in Jura. The Macdonalds of Slait were involved in the dispute in consequence of Slait having landed on Maclean's property in Jura on his way to visit Macdonald of Kintyre, when the Kintyre Macdonalds carried off some of Maclean's cattle during the night, in order that he might impute the theft to Macdonald of Sleat. In this they were successful, for the Macleans were no sooner aware of their loss, than they attacked the Macdonalds of Sleat and defeated them with so much slaughter, that their chief with difficulty escaped. In order to revenge themselves, the Macdonalds united to attack the Macleans, and having assembled in great numbers landed in Mull. At that juncture, the chief of the Macleans, who was surnamed Lachlan More, was a person well fitted by his great talents and military genius to meet the emergency upon which the fate of his clan seemed to depend. He immediately retired with his followers and cattle to the hills in the interior of the island, and left the plains open to the Macdonalds, who, finding no one to attack, and being unable to force the almost inaccessible mountains, were obliged to depart; but soon after returning with greater numbers, they found Maclean, having assem-

bled his whole clan and been joined by the other numerous branches of the family, determined to anticipate their purposed invasion, and setting sail for Mull he attacked the Macdonalds in an island south of Kerrera, called Bacca. Unprepared for so vigorous an attack on the part of the Macleans, the Macdonalds were forced to give way and betake themselves to their galleys, stationed on the other side of the island, but not before they had sustained great loss in the skirmish. After this defeat, the Macdonalds never again attempted to invade the possessions of the Macleans, but a bitter enmity existed between the Macleans and the Macdonalds of Isla and Kintyre, who failing to make any impression upon them by force resorted to treachery. With this view Angus Macdonald of Kintyre effected a reconciliation with Lachlan More, and the better to cover his intended fraud he visited him at his castle of Dowart, where his purpose was anticipated by Maclean, who took him prisoner, and did not release him until he had given up his right to some of the lands in Isla, and had left his brother and his eldest son at Dowart as hostages. Maclean was then invited to visit Macdonald at Kintyre, which, relying upon the security of the hostages, he agreed to do, and arrived there, having left Macdonald's brother at Dowart, and being accompanied by the other hostage, his uncle, and seventy gentlemen of his clan. They were received with apparent cordiality, but had no sooner retired for the night than the house was sur-

rounded by the Macdonalds with Angus at their head, and after an obstinate resistance, the Macleans were made prisoners.

Angus now satiated his vengeance by executing two of the Macleans every day, reserving their chief Lachlan More to the last; and he had already in this way slain them all except the chief, when two of the gentlemen of his clan having been taken prisoners in Mull, he was obliged to exchange Lachlan for them. No sooner, therefore, was Lachlan at liberty than he applied to the government, and obtained letters of fire and sword against Macdonald, with an order upon Macleod and Locheil to assist him. With these means he sailed for Isla, attacked and defeated the Macdonalds, burnt the whole island, and drove Angus to seek refuge in his castle, who, seeing that he could not resist Maclean, bought his forbearance by giving up to him the half of the island of Isla.

On the death of Angus of Isla, this grant produced some negotiations between Maclean and James Macdonald, Angus's son, and in order to settle their difference a meeting was agreed upon between them, but Maclean coming unadvisedly with a small attendance, and his boats being stranded by the retiring tide, he was surprised by James Macdonald and killed after a brave resistance. And thus fell the greatest chief whom the Macleans ever had, a victim to the treachery of the Macdonalds of Isla.

After this the feuds between the Macleans and

Macdonalds seem to have come to an end; the son of Lachlan having fully revenged his death by ravaging the island of Isla. The Macleans joined the Marquis of Montrose in his memorable campaign, along with the other Highland clans under the command of Sir Lachlan Maclean of Morvern, and sustained the warlike character of the clan throughout that enterprise.

In the year 1715 the Macleans also joined the rising under the Earl of Mar, and suffered upon that occasion the same penalty with the other clans who had been induced to take a part in that unfortunate expedition. But their estates having been afterwards restored, they were prevailed upon by the persuasions of President Forbes to remain quiet during the subsequent insurrection of the year 1745.

Nevertheless, although they had thus escaped the snare into which so many of the clans fell upon this occasion, the family became soon after extinct, and the clan is now divided into several independent branches, who contest with each other the honour of the chiefship.

Arms.

Quarterly. First. Argent, a rock gules. Second. Argent, a dexter hand fess-ways, couped, gules, holding a cross crosslet, fitchée, in pale azure. Third. Or, a lymphad sable. Fourth. Argent, a salmon naiant, proper; in chief, two eagles' heads erased, a fronte gules.

Badge.

Blackberry heath.

Principal Seat.

Mull.

Oldest Cadet.

The family of Lochbuy, who have long claimed the chiefship, appear to be the oldest cadet.

Chief.

Maclean of Dowart appears to have been chief of the clan.

Force.

Formerly 800. In 1745, 500.

SIOL O'CAIN.

In enquiring into the existence of any descendants of the ancient inhabitants of the North of Moray, we should expect to find them either as isolated clans in the neighbourhood, whose traditionary origin shewed some connection with those of the tribe of Moray, or situated in districts whose situation displayed evident marks of the violent removal effected by Malcolm IV. Of the latter we find instances in the Macnachtans and Macleans, of the former we can discover it in those clans whom tradition deduces from the O'Cains, and which consist principally of the Monros, Macmillans, and Buchannans. These clans, like most of the other Highland clans, have been supposed to be derived from the Irish, but their traditionary origin clearly points out their connection with the tribe of Moray. According to the ancient Sennachies, the descent of these clans is derived from certain branches of the family of O'Cain, who are said to have come from Fermanagh; but the name Cain being spelt in Gaelic Cathan, and

being the very same with Cattan, from whom clan Chattan derives its appellation, it seems much more probable that they derived their patronymic of "O'Cain" or "O'Cathan" from the Cattan of clan Chattan. And more particularly when the oldest genealogies of the Macmillans, expressly makes them a branch of the clan Chattan. The founder of the clan Chattan is also brought from the same part of Ireland as the Monros in the legends of the Sennachies; and the identity of tradition clearly points out a connection between the two clans. We have already shewn this fable of the Irish origin to be untenable in respect to the one, and it must be equally so with regard to the other.

CLAN ROICH.

The possessions of the Monros lie on the north side of the Cromarty Firth, and are known in the Highlands by the name of "Ferrin Donald", a name derived from the progenitor Donald, who bore the patronymic of O'Cain; but as they originally formed a part of the tribe of Moray, it seems clear that their earliest seats must have been in that part of Moray from which they were driven out by the Bissets. By their situation they were naturally thrown into connection with the earls of Ross, and they seem, accordingly, to have followed them in the various expeditions in which they were engaged.

The first of the Monros for whom we have distinct authority, is George Monro of Fowlis, who is said

to be mentioned in a charter of William, earl of Sutherland, so early as the reign of Alexander II. In the next century, the clan appears to have been nearly cut off to a man, in a feud with the inhabitants of the hill-country of Ross. These clans, consisting principally of the Macivers, Macaulays, and Maclays, had risen against the earl of Ross, and taken his second son at Balnagowan. In his attempt to put down this insurrection, the earl of Ross was promptly assisted by the Monros and the Dingwalls, who pursued the Highlanders, and fought them at a place called Beallynebroig. The three clans who had broken out into rebellion were nearly extinguished, and it is said that a hundred and forty of the Dingwalls and eleven of the house of Fowlis, who were to succeed each other, were killed, and that accordingly the succession fell to an infant. The Monros, however, appear to have soon recovered from this slaughter, and to have again attained to the station they had formerly possessed.

The first feudal titles obtained by this family to their possessions were acquired about the middle of the fourteenth century, and all proceeded from the earl of Ross as their feudal superior. The reddendo of one of these charters is of a somewhat singular nature considering the times. Monro holding the lands of Pitlundie blench of the earl of Ross, *for payment of a pair of white gloves*, or three pounds Scots, if required, alternately. In another charter, however, granted by the same earl, of the lands of

Easter Fowlis, to Robert Monro of Fowlis, it is expressly said, that these lands had belonged to his predecessors ever since the time of Donald, the first of this family. From this period, the Monros appear to have remained in possession of the same territories, without either acquiring additions to them, or suffering diminution; and to have at all times held the same station in which they were first found among the other Highland clans.

In the sixteenth century they seem to have been considered as a clan of considerable importance, for when so many of the Highlanders assembled round Queen Mary at Inverness, in 1562, Buchannan says, "Audito principis periculo magna priscorum Scotorum multitudo partim excita partim sua sponte affecit, imprimis Fraserii et *Monroi* hominum fortissimorum in illis gentibus familiæ."

But when the civil wars of the seventeenth century broke out, and the Highlanders took such an active part on the side of the royal cause, the Monros were one of the few clans of Gaelic origin who embraced the other side; and from this period they made a constant and determined opposition to the efforts made in favour of the Stuarts. The cause of this determination is probably to be found in the circumstance of the chief of the Monros having been for several generations engaged in the continental wars, into which they had been drawn to serve by embarrassments at home, and the hope of encreasing the fortunes of the family. This cir-

cumstance, as it had the same effect with the Mackays, seems always to have induced the Scotch, on their return from the German wars, to adopt the line of politics opposed to that of the Highlanders generally, and, in this respect, the Monros had rendered themselves well known for the active support which they invariably afforded to the established government.

In the year 1745, the Monros proved their attachment to the government by joining it with the whole clan, and their chief, Sir Robert Monro, of Fowlis, was killed at the battle of Falkirk, fighting against the army of the Stuart cause.

Arms.
Or, an eagle's head erased, gules.
Badge.
Eagles' feathers.
Principal Seat.
Fowlis.
Oldest Cadet.
Monro of Milton.
Chief.
Monro of Fowlis.
Force.
In 1704 and 1715, 400. In 1745, 500.

CLAN GILLEMHAOL.

The earliest seat of the Macmillans appears to have been on both sides of the Locharkaig, and their situation strongly confirms their traditionary connec-

tion with the clan Chattan. On the grant of Lochaber to the lord of the Isles, the Macmillans became vassals of that powerful chief, but when the Camerons obtained possession of Locharkaig, they became dependent upon that clan, in which situation they have remained ever since.

Another branch of this clan possessed the greater part of southern Knapdale, where their chief was known under the title of Macmillan of Knap; and although the family is now extinct, many records of their former power are to be found in that district. One of the towers of that fine ancient edifice, Castle Swen, bears the name of Macmillan's Tower, and there is a stone cross in the old church-yard of Kilmoray Knap, upwards of twelve feet high, richly sculptured, which has upon one side the representation of an Highland chief engaged in hunting the deer, having the following inscription in ancient Saxon characters underneath the figure:—"Hæc est crux Alexandri Macmillan." Although the Macmillans were at a very early period in Knapdale, they probably obtained the greater part of their possessions there by marriage with the heiress of the chief of the Macneills, in the sixteenth century. Tradition asserts that these Knapdale Macmillans came originally from Lochtay-side, and that they formerly possessed Lawers, on the north side of that loch, from which they were driven by Chalmers of Lawers, in the reign of David II.

As there is little reason to doubt the accuracy of

the tradition, it would appear that this branch of the Macmillans had been removed by Malcolm IV. from North Moray, and placed in the crown lands of Strathtay. Macmillan is said to have had the charter of his lands in Knapdale engraved in the Gaelic language and character upon a rock at the extremity of his estate; and tradition reports that the last of the name, in order to prevent the prostitution of his wife, butchered her admirer, and was obliged in consequence to abscond. On the extinction of the family of the chief, the next branch, Macmillan of Dunmore, assumed the title of Macmillan of Macmillan, but that family is now also extinct.

Although the Macmillans appear at one time to have been a clan of considerable importance, yet as latterly they became mere dependants upon their more powerful neighbours, who possessed the superiority of their lands, and as their principal families are now extinct, no records of their history have come down to us, nor do we know what share they took in the various great events of Highland history. Their property, upon the extinction of the family of the chief, was contended for by the Campbells and Macneills, the latter of whom were a powerful clan in North Knapdale, but the contest was, by compromise, decided in favour of the former. It continued in the same family till the year 1775, when, after the death of the tenth possessor, the estate was purchased by Sir Archibald Campbell, of Inverniel.

Of the same race with the Macmillans, appear to

be the Buchannans, or clan Anselan, who obtained the barony of Buchannan by marriage with its heiress. They claimed descent from Anselan O'Cain, and their oldest traditions indicate a close connection with the Macmillans.

Arms.

Or, a lion rampant sable upon a chief parted per barr. gules, three mollets argent.

Principal Seat.

Knapdale.

Chief.

Extinct.

CHAPTER VIII.

III. ROSS.

THE district of Ross is very frequently mentioned in the Norse Sagas along with the other districts which were ruled by Maormors or Iarls, but we find it impossible to extract from these authorities the names of many of its Maormors, for the proximity of the extensive district of Moray, and the very great power and influence to which its chiefs attained, would naturally force the less powerful Maormor of Ross into a subordinate situation, and thus prevent his name from being associated with any of the great events of that early period of our history.

It was consequently only upon the downfall of that powerful race that the chiefs of Ross first appear in history, and by that time they had already assumed the new appellation of Comes or earl. That these earls, however, were the descendants of the ancient Maormors, there can be little doubt, and this natural presumption is in this instance strengthened by the fact that the oldest authorities concur in asserting the patronymic or Gaelic name of the earls of Ross

to be O'Beolan, or descendants of Beolan; and we actually find, from the oldest Norse Saga connected with Scotland, that a powerful chief in the north of Scotland, named Beolan, married the daughter of Ganga Rolfe, or Rollo, the celebrated pirate, who became afterwards the first earl of Normandy. From this account, extracted from almost a contemporary writer, it would appear that the ancestor of the earls of Ross was chief of that district in the beginning of the tenth century.

The first known earl of Ross is Malcolm, to whom a precept was directed from Malcolm IV., desiring him to protect and defend the monks of Dunfermline in their lawful privileges, possessions, &c. This precept is not dated, but from the names of the witnesses it must have been granted before the year 1162. The next earl who is recorded in history is Ferchard, surnamed Macintagart, or son of the priest. At this period the tribe of Moray, after a series of rebellions, of which each had proved to be more fatal to them than the preceding, was rapidly approaching its downfall; and in proportion as it declined, the earls of Ross appear to have obtained more and more of the power and influence in the North, which had hitherto been possessed by the Maormors of Moray. By the defeat of Kenneth Macheth, the last of the line of the old earls of Moray, that family became extinct, and the ruin of the tribes was completed, while Ferchard, earl of Ross, who had judged

it prudent at length openly to join the king's party, and had been mainly instrumental in suppressing that insurrection, at once acquired the station in the Highlands which had been formerly held by the earls of Moray. The designation of this earl of "son of the priest," shews that he was not the son of the former earl, but that the older family must have become extinct, and a new line come into possession of the dignity. Of what family this earl was, history does not say, but that omission may in some degree be supplied by the assistance of the MS. of 1450. It is well known that the surname of Ross has always been rendered in Gaelic, *clan Anrias*, or *clan Gille-anrias*, and they appear under the former of these appellations in all the early Acts of Parliament; there is also an unvarying tradition in the Highlands, that on the death of William, last earl of Ross of this family, a certain Paul Mac Tire was for some time chief of the clan; and this tradition is corroborated by the fact that there is a charter by this same William, earl of Ross, to this very Paul Mac Tire, in which he styles him his cousin. There appears, however, among the numerous clans contained in the MS. of 1450, one termed clan Gilleanrias, which commences with Paul Mac Tire, so that there can be little doubt that this clan is the same with that of the Rosses, and in this MS. they are traced upwards in a direct line to a certain "Gilleon na h'Airde," or Collin of the Aird, who must have lived in the tenth

century. In this genealogy occurs the name of Gilleanrias, exactly contemporary with the generation preceding that of Ferchard.

The name of Gilleanrias, which means the servant of St. Andrew, would seem to indicate that he was a priest; and when, in addition to this, we consider that the time exactly corresponds,—that the earls of Ross, being a part of the clan Anrias, must have been descended from him,—and that among the earls who besieged Malcolm IV. in Perth, in the year 1160, appears the name of Gilleandres, it seems clear that Ferchard, "the priest's son," was the son of Gilleanrias, the founder of the clan Anrias, and consequently, that he succeeded to the earldom of Ross on the failure of a former family. Ferchard appears to have rendered great assistance to Alexander II. in his conquest of Argyll in 1221, and on that occasion obtained from that monarch a grant of North Argyll, afterwards termed Wester Ross. The only other act recorded of his life is the foundation of the Abbey of Ferne; and on his death at Tayne, in 1251, he was succeeded by his son William.

It was during the life of this earl that the expedition of Haco to the Western Isles took place. The more immediate cause of this expedition was the incursions which the earl of Ross had made into various of the Isles; but although, in a Celtic country, the proximity of powerful tribes was always accompanied by bitter feuds, and accordingly there might have existed some hereditary enmity between

the Rosses and the Gael of the Western Isles, yet the history of the period shews very clearly that the hostilities of the earl of Ross were in all probability instigated by the king; and that that monarch, aware of the danger of attempting the subjugation of the Isles, from the ill success of his father, had by these means called forth a Norwegian armament, and brought the war to his own country, a policy the sagacity of which was fully justified in the result. The cession of the Isles, however, although an event of so much importance and advantage to the general welfare of the country, did not affect the interests of the earl of Ross so favourably; as previous to that occurrence they had, ever since the decline of the Maormors of Moray, been the only great chiefs in the Highlands, and had possessed an absolute influence in the North. But now a new family was thus brought in closer connexion with the kingdom of Scotland, whose power was too great for the earls of Ross to overcome, and who consequently divided with them the consideration which the latter had alone previously held in the Highlands. It would lead to too great length to enter in this place into a detailed account of the history of these earls, particularly as their great power involved them so much with the general public events of Scottish history, that such a detail becomes the less necessary; suffice it therefore to say, that notwithstanding the powerful clan of the Macdonalds having by the cession of the Isles been brought into the field, they

continued to maintain the high station they had reached in point of influence; and their policy leading them to a constant adherence to the established government of the time, they were ready to take advantage of the numerous rebellions of their rival chiefs to encrease their own influence, although the actual strength of the Macdonalds, and the advantage they derived from the distant and inaccessible nature of their extensive possessions, was too great to allow any very permanent advantage to be obtained over them. Such was the reciprocal position of these two great families in respect to each other; and each of them would perhaps in the end have proved too much for the strength of the government, had they not at all times had to apprehend the enmity of the other; so that they remained in an attitude of mutual defiance and respect until the extinction of the direct male line of the earls of Ross, when the introduction, through the operation of the feudal principles of succession, of a Norman baron into their territories and dignities, not only deprived the lords of the Isles of a dreaded rival, but eventually even threw the whole power and resources of the earldom of Ross into the hands of these Island lords; and thus, no Highland chief remaining powerful enough to offer any opposition to the Macdonalds, gave birth to that brief but eventful struggle between the lords of the Isles and the crown, which could only terminate with the ruin or extinction of one of the contending parties.

This termination of the male line of the earls of

Ross, and introduction in their place of a Norman baron, although it was but for a short period that the Lowland family remained, being soon succeeded by the Macdonalds themselves, had the usual effect of bringing the subordinate clans into notice; and the first of these to which we have to direct our attention is the clan Anrias, or the Rosses.

CLAN ANRIAS.

On the death of William, the last of the old earls of Ross, it is unquestionable that the chiefship of the clan devolved upon Paul Mac Tire, who in the MS. of 1450 is given as chief of the clan Anrias. Paul appears from that manuscript to have descended from a brother of Ferchard, first earl of Ross of this family, who bore the same name of Paul, and to have been a person of no ordinary consequence in his time. "Paul Mactire," says Sir Robert Gordon, "was a man of great power and possessions. In hys tyme he possessed the lands of Creich, in Sutherland, and built a house there called Douncriech, with such a kynd of hard mortar that at this day it cannot be known whereof it was made. As he was building this house and fortefieing it, he had intelligence that his onlie son was slayen in Catteness, in company with one Murthow Reawich, ane outlaw and valiante captaine in these days, which made him desist from further building, when he had almost finished the same. There are manie things fabulouslie reported of this Paul Mactire

among the vulgar people, which I do omit to relate." Sir Robert is perfectly correct in calling Paul a man of great power and possessions, for he held the whole of Strath Carron, Strath Oikill, Scrivater, and Glenbeg, in Ross, besides the extensive district of Braechatt, including Lairg Criech and Slischilish, or Ferrincoskie. He had also a charter of the lands of Gerloch from the earl of Ross, but his title to be considered as the inventor of vitrified forts, Duncriech being one of the most remarkable specimens remaining of these curious objects of antiquity, although admitted, strangely enough, by the sceptical Pinkerton, may by some be considered doubtful. "Paul Mactyre," says an ancient historian of Highland families, "was a valiant man, and caused Caithness to pay him blackmail. It is reported that he got nyn score of cowes yearly out of Caithness for blackmail so long as he was able to travel." On this chief, whose actions seem to have dwelt so long in the recollection of after generations, being removed by death, we find the Rosses of Balnagowan appearing as the head of the clan, and in this family the chiefship has remained for upwards of three hundred years. The descent of the Rosses of Balnagowan has hitherto been considered as perfectly distinct, and it has never been doubted that their ancestor was William Ross, son of Hugh de Ross, who was brother to William, the last Earl of Ross. The family have in consequence claimed to be the male representatives of the ancient earls, but to this

the objection naturally occurs, that if the Rosses of Balnagowan are the descendants of the brother of the last earl, how came Paul Mactire, a remote collateral branch, to be considered chief of the race, as we know from the MS. of 1450, and other sources, he unquestionably was? The descent of the Balnagowan family from a William de Ross, the son of a Hugh de Ross, who lived in the reign of David II., is undoubted; but it unfortunately happens that the records prove most clearly that there lived at the same time two Hugh de Rosses, one of whom was certainly brother to the last earl, and that each of these Hugh de Rosses had a son William de Ross.

In 1375, Robert II. confirms "Willielmo de Ross, filio et *hæredi quond* Hugonis de Ross," a charter of William, earl of Ross, to the said Hugh, his brother, of the lands of Balnagowan, and in 1379 he grants consanguineo suo Hugoni de Ross de Kinfauns, and Margaret Barclay his spouse, an annual rent from the lands of Doune in Banff. The one Hugh Ross thus got a charter in 1379, while the other was already dead in 1375[1].

In 1383, however, we find a charter to John Lyon of lands in Fife, que fuerunt Roberto de Ross, filio et *heredi Hugonis de Ross de Kinfauns*, and in

[1] Mr. Wood, in his Peerage, quotes these charters as of the same Hugh de Ross; and in quoting the last, remarks, with the utmost gravity, that Hugh appears at this time to be dead. No doubt he was, but a grant of an annual rent to a dead person does not seem to have struck Mr. Wood as singular.

1377 the king confirms a charter by the earl of Caithness, Willielmo de Ross, *filio juniori quond* Hugonis de Ross, of the lands in Caithness, which had belonged to Walter Moray.

From these charters then it appears that there existed in the North, at the same time, two William de Rosses, each of them son of a Hugh de Ross. The one William de Ross, however, was the eldest son of Hugh de Ross, the brother of the last earl, while the other William de Ross was the younger son of a Hugh de Ross who, in consequence of a connection with the royal family, obtained a grant of Kinfauns in Perthshire, Kinfauns being inherited by the eldest son, Robert, while William obtained property in the North. It is of course impossible to fix with certainty from which of the two Williams the Balnagowan family are descended, but the presumption certainly is, that William de Ross, the son of the earl's brother, died without issue, and that the other William de Ross, who must have been of a remote branch, is their ancestor. That the Rosses of Balnagowan were of the same branch with Paul Mac Tire is rendered probable by their own tradition, for when a family is led by circumstances to believe in a descent different from the real one, we invariably find that they assert a marriage between their ancestor and the heiress of the family from which they are in reality descended, and the Rosses of Balnagowan have accordingly invariably accompanied the assertion of their descent from Hugh, the

brother of the last earl, with that of their ancestor having married the daughter and heiress of Paul Mac Tire.

Of the history of the Rosses during the fifteenth century we know little; and they may have acquired the property of Balnagowan either by marriage or as male heirs of the last family. Towards the end of that century they very narrowly escaped being annihilated in a feud with the Mackays, who were at that time in great power. Angus Mackay, after having for a long period constantly molested and irritated the Rosses by frequent incursions into their territories, was at length surprised by them in the church at Tarbat, and there burnt to death. When his son John attained majority he determined to take a deep and bloody revenge for his father's death, and having raised as many of his own clan as he could, and also obtained considerable assistance from the earl of Sutherland, he unexpectedly burst into the district of Strathoykill, wasting the country with fire and sword. Alexander, then laird of Balnagowan, collected forthwith all the men he could and met the invader at a place called Aldycharrich. A battle followed, which was contested with unusual fierceness and obstinacy, until at length the Rosses were totally routed, and their chief, together with seventeen landed proprietors of the county of Ross, were slain. The Rosses do not appear ever to have recovered the great slaughter which took place upon this occasion, and they

remained afterwards a clan of no great strength, until at length the family became extinct in the beginning of the eighteenth century, in the person of David, the last of the old Rosses of Balnagowan, who, finding that in consequence of the entail of Balnagowan ending with himself, he was enabled to sell the estate, disposed of it to General Ross, brother of lord Ross of Hawkhead, from whom the late Rosses of Balnagowan are descended, thus occasioning the somewhat curious coincidence of the estates being purchased by a family of the same name though of very different origin.

Arms.

Oldest coat. Sa. on a chev. ar. a lion rampant, or, between two torteauxes.

Badge.

The uva ursi plant.

Principal Seat.

Balnagowan.

Chief.

Ross Munro, of Pitcalnie, now represents this family.

Force.

In 1427, 2000. In 1704 and 1715, 300. In 1745, 500.

CLAN KENNETH.

The Mackenzies have long boasted of their descent from the great Norman family of Fitzgerald in Ireland, and in support of this origin they produce a fragment of the records of Icolmkill, and a charter by Alexander III. to Colin Fitzgerald, the supposed

progenitor of the family, of the lands of Kintail. At first sight these documents might appear conclusive, but, independently of the somewhat suspicious circumstance, that while these papers have been most freely and generally quoted, no one has ever yet declared that he has seen the originals, the fragment of the Icolmkill record merely says, that among the actors in the battle of Largs, fought in 1262, was "Peregrinus et Hibernus nobilis ex familia geraldinorum qui proximo anno ab Hibernia pulsus apud regem benigne acceptus hinc usque in curta permansit et in præfacto prœlio strenue pugnavit," giving not a hint of his having settled in the Highlands, or of his having become the progenitor of any Scottish family whatever; while as to the supposed charter of Alexander III., it is equally inconclusive, as it merely grants the lands of Kintail "Colino Hiberno", the word "Hibernus" having at that time come into general use as denoting the Highlanders, in the same manner as the word "Erse" is now frequently used to express their language: but inconclusive as it is, this charter cannot be admitted at all, as it bears the most palpable marks of having been a forgery of later times, and one by no means happy in its execution.

How such a tradition of the origin of the Mackenzies ever could have arisen, it is difficult to say; but the fact of their native and Gaelic descent is completely set at rest by the manuscript of 1450, which has already so often been the means of detect-

ing the falsehood of the foreign origins of other clans. In that MS., the antiquity of which is perhaps as great, and its authenticity certainly much greater than the fragments of the Icolmkill records, the Mackenzies are brought from a certain Gilleon-og, or Colin the younger, a son of "Gilleon na h'airde," the ancestor of the Rosses.

The descendants of Gilleon na h'airde we have already identified with the ancient tribe of Ross; and it follows, therefore, that the Mackenzies must always have formed an integral part of that tribe.

Until the forfeiture of the lords of the Isles, the Mackenzies held their lands of the earl of Ross, and always followed his banner in the field, there is consequently little to be learned of their earlier history, until by the forfeiture of that earldom also they rose rapidly upon the ruins of the Macdonalds to the great power and extent of territory which they afterwards came to possess.

The first of this family who is known with certainty, appears to be "Murdo filius Kennethi de Kintail," to whom a charter is said to have been granted by David II. as early as the year 1362; and this is confirmed by the manuscript of 1450, the last two generations given in which are "Murcha, the son of Kenneth." After him we know nothing of the clan, until we find the chief among those Highland barons who were arrested by king James I., at his treacherous Parliament held at Inverness in 1427; and the clan appears by this time to have become

one of very considerable strength and importance, for Kenneth More, their chief, is ranked as leader of two thousand men.

It was during the life of his son Murdoch that the earl of Ross and lord of the Isles was forfeited; on that occasion, the chief of the Mackenzies did not neglect the opportunity so eagerly seized by the other clans that were dependent on the Macdonalds, but not connected by descent with that clan, to render himself altogether independent; and therefore he steadily opposed, to the utmost of his power, every attempt on the part of the Macdonalds to resume possession of the earldom which had been wrested from them. One of the principal attempts of the Macdonalds for this purpose was that of the rebellion under Alaster Mac Gillespic, the nephew of the last lord, when, after having succeeded in regaining possession of the Isles, he at length invaded Ross; but the Mackenzies were not willing to resign without a struggle their newly acquired independence. They accordingly exerted all the interest they could command to excite opposition to the attempt of Alaster Mac Gillespic upon Ross, and finally attacked him at the head of his own clan, together with a large body of the inhabitants of the country, near the river Connan. A fierce and obstinate engagement between the parties ensued, but the Macdonalds, being unable to cope with the numbers opposed to them, were at length completely overthrown with very great slaughter. This battle is known in history

and in tradition by the name of the conflict of Blairnapark; after this, various other encounters took place between the Macdonalds, which ended in the complete independence of the former.

From this period the Mackenzies gradually increased, both in power and extent of territories, until they finally established themselves as one of the principal clans of the north, and in the words of Sir Robert Gordon—"From the ruins of the family of clan Donald, and some of the neighbouring Highlanders, and also by their own vertue, the surname of the clan Kenzie, from small beginnings began to flourish in these bounds, and by the friendship and favour of the house of Sutherland, chiefly of earl John, fifth of that name, earl of Sutherland, (whose chamberlains they were in receiving the rents of the earldom of Rosse to his use,) their estate afterwards came to great height, yea, above divers of their more ancient neighbours." The establishment of the clan at once in so great power, upon the ruins of the Macdonalds, was much furthered by the character of the chief of the time, who appears to have been a person of considerable talent, and well fitted to seize every occasion of extending their influence. "In his time," (says an ancient historian of the clan,) "he purchased much of the Braelands of Ross, and secured both what he had acquired, and what his predecessors had, by well ordered and legal security—so that it is doubtful whether his predecessors' courage, or his prudence, contributed most to the rising

of his family." The endeavours of the Mackenzies thus to possess themselves of a portion of the now scattered territories of the Macdonalds, had with them the same result as with the other clans engaged in pursuit of the same object, for they soon found themselves involved in bitter feuds with several branches of that great but fallen clan.

Proximity of situation, and peculiar circumstances, occasioned the Glengarry branch of the Macdonalds to become their principal antagonists; and the causes of this feud, which for some time raged with great fierceness, and at length ended in the additional aggrandisement of the Mackenzies, and in the loss of a great part of Glengarry's possessions, are these. During the period when the earldom of Ross was held by Alexander, lord of the Isles, that chief bestowed a considerable extent of territory in Ross upon the second son Celestine. The descendants of Celestine having become extinct, after the failure of the various attempts which had been made to regain the possessions and dignities of the forfeited lord of the Isles, their estate in Ross descended to Macdonald of Glengarry, whose grandfather had married the heiress of that branch of the Macdonalds. But these possessions were, from their proximity, looked upon with an envious eye by the Mackenzies, and they consequently attempted to expel the Macdonalds from them. Various success for some years attended the prosecution of this feud, and many atrocities had been committed on both sides, when Mackenzie

resolved, by assistance from government and under cover of law, to obtain that which he had otherwise found himself unable to accomplish; and the mode of procedure adopted by him for this purpose is thus described by Sir Robert Gordon:—"The laird of Glengarry (one of the clan Donald) being inexpert and onskilful in the laws of the realme, the clan Chenzie easily entrapped him within the compass thereof, and secretly charged him (bot not personallie) to appear before the justice of Edinburgh, having in the meantime slayn two of his kinsmen. Glengarry, not knowing, or neglecting the charges and summonds, came not to Edinburgh at the prefixt day, bot went about to revenge the slaughter of his kinsmen, whereby he was denounced rebell and outlawed, together with divers of his followers; so by means and credit of the earl of Dumfermlyn, lord chancellor of Scotland, Kenneth Mackenzie, lord of Kintayle, did purchase a commission against Glengarry and his men, whereby proceeded great slaughter and trouble." Mackenzie having thus obtained the authority and assistance of the government, and being joined by a party of men sent by the earl of Sutherland, soon succeeded in driving the Macdonalds from the disputed territory, and at length besieged the only remaining detachment of them, who occupied the castle of Strome.

After a siege of some duration, the Macdonalds were obliged to surrender, and the Mackenzies forth-

with blew up the castle. He then invaded Glengarry at the head of a numerous body of troops, which he had collected for that purpose, and attacked the Macdonalds, who had taken arms in defence of their territory. The Macdonalds were beat, and their leader, Glengarry's eldest son, was killed, with great slaughter on both sides; the Macdonalds defended their possessions for a considerable period with such desperation, that at length Mackenzie, finding that he could not make any impression upon them in their own country, and Glengarry being aware that he had now little chance of recovering the districts which had been wrested from him, the contending parties came to an agreement, and the result was, a crown charter obtained by Mackenzie to the disputed districts, being those of Lochalsh, Lochcarron, &c., with the castle of Strome. The charter is dated in the year 1607.—"Thus doe the tryb of clan Kenzie become great in these pairts, still encroaching upon their neighbours, who are unacquainted with the lawes of this kingdome."

This Kenneth Mackenzie was soon after raised to the peerage by the title of Lord Mackenzie of Kintail, and his son Colin received the additional dignity of earl of Seaforth, honours which they appear to have owed entirely to the great extent of territory which they had then acquired.—"All the Highlands and Isles, from Ardnamurchan to Strathnaven, were either the Mackenzies' property or under their

vassalage, some very few excepted; and all about him were tied to his family by very strict bonds of friendship."

The Mackenzies took an active share in all the attempts made by the Highland clans in support of the cause of the Stuarts, with the exception of the last; and having been twice forfeited, the dictates of prudence, strengthened by the eloquence of President Forbes, induced them to decline joining in that unfortunate insurrection.

In the next generations, however, the family became extinct, and the estates have passed by the marriage of the heiress into the possession of a stranger.

Arms.
Az. a stag's head embossed, or.
Badge.
Deer-grass.
Principal Seat.
Kintail.
Oldest Cadet.
Mackenzie of Gairloch.
Chief.
The family of the chief is said to be represented by Mackenzie of Allangrange.
Force.
In 1427, 2000. In 1704, 1200. In 1745, 2500.

CLAN MATHAN.

The Macmathans or Mathiesons are represented in the manuscript of 1450 as a branch of the Mackenzies,

and their origin is deduced, in that document, from Mathan or Mathew, a son of Kenneth, from whom the Mackenzies themselves take their name.

This origin is strongly corroborated by tradition, which has always asserted the existence of a close intimacy and connexion between these two clans. The genealogy contained in the manuscript is also confirmed by the fact, that the Norse account of Haco's expedition mentions that the earl of Ross, in his incursions among the Isles, which led to that expedition, was accompanied by *Kiarnakr*, son of *Makamals*, while at that very period in the genealogy of the manuscript occur the names of *Kenneth* and *Matgamna* or Mathew, of which the Norse names are evidently a corruption.

Of the history of this clan we know nothing whatever. Although they are now extinct, they must at one time have been one of the most powerful clans in the north, for among the Highland chiefs seized by James I. at the Parliament held at Inverness in 1427, Bower mentions Macmaken leader of two thousand men, and this circumstance affords a most striking instance of the rise and fall of different families; for, while the Mathison appears at that early period as the leader of two thousand men, the Mackenzie has the same number only, and we now see the clan of Mackenzie extending their numberless branches over a great part of the North, and possessing an extent of territory of which few families can exhibit a parallel, while the once powerful

clan of the Mathisons has disappeared, and their name become nearly forgotten.

SIOL ALPINE.

The general appellation of Siol Alpine has been usually given to a number of clans situated at considerable distances from each other, but who have hitherto been supposed to possess a common descent, and that, from Kenneth Macalpine, the ancestor of a long line of Scottish kings. These clans are the clan Gregor, the Grants, the Mackinnons, Macquarries, Macnabs, and Macaulays, and they have at all times claimed the distinction of being the noblest and most ancient of the Highland clans. "S'rioghail mo dhream," my race is royal, was the proud motto of the Macgregors, and although the other Highland clans have for centuries acquiesced in the justice of that motto, yet this lofty boast must fall before a rigid examination into its truth. For the authority of the manuscript of 1450 puts it beyond all doubt that that origin was altogether unknown at that period, and that these clans in reality formed a part of the tribe of Ross.

The clans which formed the Siol Alpine, seem to have differed from all others in this respect,—that, so far back as they can be traced, they were always disunited, and although they acknowledged a common descent, yet at no time do they appear united under the authority of a common chief. But the principal tribe was always admitted to be that of clan Gregor,

who, in the words of a late illustrious writer, are described to have been a race "famous for their misfortunes and the indomitable spirit with which they maintained themselves as a clan, linked and banded together in spite of the most severe laws, executed with unheard-of rigour, against those who bore this forbidden surname."

CLAN GREGOR.

A great deal of romantic interest has of late years been attached to the history of this clan, from the conspicuous part which it performs in many of the productions of the inimitable author of the Waverly novels, by which their proscription and consequent sufferings have become familiar to every one. But in the following short sketch I shall only attempt to throw together as many authentic facts regarding their early history as are still to be traced. The earliest possession of this family appears to have been the district of Glenurchy in Lorn, and from that district all the other septs of clan Gregor proceeded, for the common ancester of all these clans is in tradition styled Ey Urchaych, or Hugh of Glenurchy, and his epithet of Glenurchy apparently points him out as the first of the clan who took possession of that district. Glenurchy forms a part of those territories in Argyll which were forfeited by Alexander the Second, and given to the principal chiefs in his army. As the earl of Ross had in particular joined him with a considerable force, and ob-

tained no inconsiderable extent of territory in consequence, it is probable that Glenurchy was given to the chief of the Macgregors, at that time a vassal of the earl of Ross.

Glenurchy appears among the possessions of the Argyll family as early as the reign of David II., and was afterwards settled upon a second son of that family, who became the founder of the house of Braedalbane. But notwithstanding that the Campbells had thus a legal right to that district, the Macgregors maintained the actual possession of it as late as the year 1390, for in that year there is mention of the death of John Gregorii de Glenurchy, and from the earliest period in which this clan is mentioned, their whole possessions appear to have been held by them upon no other title than that of the "*Coir a glaive*," or right of the sword.

Prior to the death of John Macgregor, of Glenurchy, we are not acquainted with any thing more of their history than the mere genealogy of the family; John Macgregor, who died in 1390, appears to have had three sons, Patrick, who succeeded him; John Dow, ancestor of the family of Glenstrae; and Gregor, ancestor of the family of Roro. Patrick appears, in addition to his lands in Glenurchy, to have possessed some property in Strathfillan, but the Campbells, who had obtained a feudal right to Glenurchy, and reduced the Macgregors to the situation of tenants at will, were apparently determined that they should not possess a feudal right to any property whatever.

Malcolm Patrick's son was in consequence compelled to sell the lands of Auchinrevach in Strathfillan, to Campbell of Glenurchy, who in this manner obtained the first footing in Braedalbane, and after this period the Macgregors did not possess one acre of land to which they had a feudal title. As long as the clan remained united under one chief, they were enabled to maintain possession of their ancient estates by the strong hand, but the policy of the Argyll family now occasioned the usual disunion among the various families of the clan. The chief of the Macgregors, with the principal families, had been reduced to the situation of tenants on the lands of the Campbells of Glenurchy, with one exception, viz., the family of Glenstray, who held that estate as vassal of the earl of Argyll. From Glenurchy, the Macgregors experienced nothing but the extreme of oppression. The Argyll family, however, adopted the different policy of preserving the Macgregors on their property in a sufficient state of strength to enable them to be of service to these wily lords in annoying their neighbours. The consequence of this was that the chief was for the time in no situation to protect his clan, and that the Glenstray family gradually assumed their station at the head of the clan with the title of captain, which they afterwards bore. The state of the principal branches of the clan now presented too favourable an opportunity for expelling them from the lands to be neglected, and accordingly the powerful families of

Glenurchy, and others who had acquired a claim upon the chief of the Macgregors' lands, and were in the partial possession of them, appear at this time to have commenced a system of annoyance and oppression, which speedily reduced the clan to a state of lawless insubordination, and obliged them to have recourse to a life of robbery and plunder as their only means of subsistence. It was not unnatural that a spirit of retaliation should direct their attacks against those who thus acquired possession of their lands, but this conduct, though natural, considering the country and the time, was studiously represented at court as arising from an untameable and innate ferocity of disposition, which it was said nothing could remedy, "save cutting off the tribe of Macgregor, root and branch." And in truth, the treatment they had received had so utterly exasperated this unhappy clan, that it became the interest of these barons to extirpate them altogether, for which purpose every means was used to effect their object under the colour of law.

The minority of King James the Fourth having thrown the power of the state into the hands of the principal barons, they appear for the first time to have attained this object by means of the enactment obtained in the year 1488, "for staunching of thiftreif and other enormities throw all the realme;" and among the barons to whom powers were given for enforcing the Act, we find Duncan Campbell of Glenurchy, Neill Stewart of Fortingall, and Ewine

Campbell of Strachur. This Act must have fallen with peculiar severity upon the clan Gregor, and of course must rather have aggravated than alleviated the evil apparently sought to be remedied. But in numbers the Macgregor was still a powerful clan. The chieftainship had been assumed by the Glenstray family, which was descended from John Dow, second son of John Macgregor, and they still in some degree maintained their footing in Glenurchy. Besides this, a great number of them were now settled in the districts of Braedalbane and Atholl, among whom were the families of Roro, descended from Gregor, third son of John Macgregor, and those of Brackly Ardchoille and Glengyll, the only remaining descendants of the ancient chiefs; and those families, although they acknowledged Glenstray as the chief, were yet by distance and jealousy dissevered from that sept.

In order to reduce these branches, Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenurchy obtained, in 1492, the office of baliary of the crown lands of Disher and Toyer, Glenlion and Glendochart, and the consequences of his obtaining this office speedily shewed themselves, for in 1502 he obtained a charter of the lands of Glenlion, and he seems nearly to have accomplished the extermination of the other families of Macgregor in his neighbourhood. From this period the history of the Macgregors consists of a mere list of acts of privy council, by which commissions are granted to pursue the clan with fire and sword,

and of various atrocities which a state of desperation, the natural result of these measures, as well as a deep spirit of vengeance against both the framers and executors of them, frequently led the clan to commit. These actions led to the enactment of still severer laws, and at length to the complete proscription of the clan.

The slaughter of Drummond of Drummondernoch in the year 1589, and the conflict of Glenfruin in 1603, are well known to every one; the former affording a foundation for the incident detailed in Sir Walter Scott's Legend of Montrose, and the latter being the result of the remarkable raid of the Macgregors into Lennox, where they were opposed by the Colquhouns, whom they defeated with great slaughter. Previously to this latter event, the king, despairing of being able to reduce the clan, had constituted the earl of Argyll king's lieutenant and justice in the whole bounds inhabited by the clan Gregor, and this appointment was the means of at length effecting the utter ruin of the tribe; for that politic nobleman, instead of driving the Macgregors to desperation, determined to use them as tools for executing his own vengeance on any of the neighbouring families who had the misfortune to offend him.

There seems little doubt that almost all the incursions of the clan, after this period, may be traced to that earl as their cause. But when the conflict of Glenfruin drew the attention of government once

more upon them, the earl deemed it time to sacrifice his unfortunate instruments to the laws of his country. The chief of the clan Gregor was at this time Alaster Macgregor, of Glenstray, and the earl of Argyll having inveigled him into his power by a promise that he would convey him in safety to England and plead his cause at court, proceeded with him as far as Berwick; but having crossed the border, he declared that he had, to the letter, now fulfilled his promise, though not to the sense. He forthwith conveyed his victim back again to Edinburgh, and, after the form of a mock trial, had him hanged along with seven of his followers. But unfortunately for the fame of the earl, Macgregor had, before his death, made a declaration, which affords so curious an exposure of that nobleman's policy, that we shall subjoin an extract from that document, as printed in Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, Vol. II., p. 435. "I, Alaster Macgregor, of Glenstray, confess heir before God, that I have been persudit, movit, and intycit, as I am now presently accusit and troublit for; alse gif I had usit counsall or command of the man that has entysit me, I would have done and committit sindrie heich murthouris mair. For trewlie syn I wes first his majesties man, I could never be at ane eise, by my Lord of Argylls falshete and inventiones, for he causit Macklaine and Clanhamrowne commit herschip and slaughter in my roum of Rannoche, the quhilk causit my pure men thereefter to begg and steill, also thereefter he movit

my brother and some of my friendes to commit baith heirschip and slaughter upon the Laird of Lues; also, he persuadit myself with message to weir againes the Laird of Boquhanene, whilk I did refuse, for the whilk I was contenuallie bostit that he would be my unfriend, and when I did refuse his desire in that point, then he entysit me with other messengeris, to weir and truble the Laird of Luss, quhilk I behuffit to do for his false boutgaittes; then when he saw I was in ane strait, he causit me trow he was my gude friend, &c., but with fair wordes to put me in ane snare that he might get the lands of Kintyre in feyell fra his majesty, beganne to put at me and my kin. The quhilk Argyll inventit maist shamfullie, and persuadit the Laird of Ardkinglass to dissave me quha was the man I did maist traist into; but God did releif me in the meantyme to libertie maist narrowlie, &c. I declare befoir God that he did all his craftie diligence to intyse me to slay and destroy the Laird of Ardinkaiple Mackally for ony ganes kyndness or friendship that he might do or give me. The quhilk I did refuse in respect of my faithful promise maid to Mackallay of befor; also he did all the diligence he culd to move me to slay the Laird of Ardkinglass in like manner. Bot I never grantit thereto. Throw the quhilk he did envy me gretumly," &c., &c.

The result of the representations which were made

to the king against the Macgregors on account of this conflict, were the acts of proscription.

By an Act of the privy council, dated 3d April 1603, the name of Macgregor was expressly abolished, and those who had hitherto borne it were commanded to change it for other surnames, *the pain of death* being denounced against those who should call themselves Gregor or Macgregor, the names of their fathers. Under the same penalty, all who had been at the conflict of Glenfruin, or accessory to other marauding parties charged in the Act, were prohibited from carrying weapons, except a pointless knife to cut their victuals. By a subsequent Act of council, death was denounced against any persons of the tribe formerly called Macgregor, who should presume to assemble in greater numbers than four. And finally, by an Act of Parliament 1607, c. 26, these laws were continued and extended to the rising generation, in respect that great numbers of the children of those against whom the Acts of privy council had been directed, were stated to be then approaching to maturity, who, if permitted to assume the name of their parents, would render the clan as strong as it was before. The execution of these severe and unjustifiable Acts having been committed principally to the earl of Argyll, with the assistance of the earl of Atholl in Perthshire, were enforced with unsparing rigour by that nobleman, whose interest it now was to exterminate the clan; and on

the part of the unfortunate Macgregors were resisted with the most determined courage, obtaining sometimes a transient advantage, and always selling their lives dearly.

After the death of Alaster of Glenstray, that branch of the Macgregors remained nominally captains and chiefs of the clan, with little real power over the other houses of the clan, until the end of the seventeenth century, when they appear to have become extinct; although when Montrose raised his Highland army greater part of the clan Gregor joined him under the command of Patrick Macgregor of Glenstray. The Brackly family, however, seem constantly to have asserted their right to the chiefship, and, at length, when the clan obtained full redress from the British government, by an Act abolishing for ever the penal statutes which had so long been imposed upon this race, they entered into a deed recognizing John Murray of Lanrick, afterwards Sir John Macgregor, Baronet, representative of this family, as lawfully descended from the ancient stock and blood of the lairds and lords of Macgregor, and therefore acknowledged him as their chief. This deed was subscribed by eight hundred and twenty-six persons of the name of Macgregor capable of bearing arms, and in this manner the descendant of the ancient chiefs of the clan again assumed the station at the head of the clan which his ancestors had possessed, and to which he was entitled by the right of blood.

Their claim, however, is opposed by the Glengyle family, to which branch belonged the celebrated freebooter, Rob Roy, whose deeds have been lately brought so conspicuously before the public.

Arms.

Argent, a sword in bend azure, and a fir tree eradicated in bend sinister, proper; in chief, a crown gules.

Badge.

Pine.

Principal Seat.

Glenorchy.

Oldest Cadet.

The Macgregors of Glenstray were oldest cadets and captains for a period of two centuries.

Chief.

Sir Evan Macgregor Murray, Baronet.

Force.

In 1745, 700.

CLAN GRANT.

Nothing certain is known regarding the origin of the Grants. They have been said to be of Danish, English, French, Norman, and of Gaelic extraction; but each of these suppositions depends for support upon conjecture alone, and amidst so many conflicting opinions it is difficult to fix upon the most probable. It is maintained by the supporters of their Gaelic origin, that they are a branch of the Macgregors, and in this opinion they are certainly borne out by the ancient and unvarying tradition of the country; for their Norman origin, I have upon

examination entirely failed in discovering any further reason than that their name may be derived from the French, grand or great, and that they occasionally use the Norman form of de Grant. The latter reason, however, is not of any force, for it is impossible to trace an instance of their using the form de Grant until the fifteenth century; on the contrary, the form is invariably Grant or le Grant, and on the very first appearance of the family it is "dictus Grant." It is certainly not a territorial name, for there was no ancient property of that name, and the peculiar form under which it invariably appears in the earlier generations, proves that the name is derived from a personal epithet. It so happens, however, that there was no epithet so common among the Gael as that of Grant, as a perusal of the Irish annals will evince; and at the same time Ragman's Roll shews that the Highland epithets always appear among the Norman signatures with the Norman "le" prefixed to them. The clan themselves unanimously assert their descent from Gregor Mor Macgregor, who lived in the twelfth century; and this is supported by their using to this day the same badge of distinction. So strong is this belief in both the clans of Grant and Macgregor, that in the early part of the last century a meeting of the two was held in the Blair of Atholl, to consider the policy of re-uniting them. Upon this point all agreed, and also that the common surname should be Macgregor, if the reversal of the attainder of that name could be got from govern-

ment. If that could not be obtained it was agreed that either Mac Alpine or Grant should be substituted. This assembly of the clan Alpine lasted for fourteen days, and was only rendered abortive by disputes as to the chieftainship of the combined clan. Here then is as strong an attestation of a tradition as it is possible to conceive, and when to this is added the utter absence of the name in the old Norman rolls, the only trustworthy mark of a Norman descent, we are warranted in placing the Grants among the Siol Alpine.

The first of this family who appear on record are Domini Laurentius et Robertus dicti Grant, who are witnesses to an agreement between Archibald, Bishop of Moray, and John Bisset, dated in September 1258, and they are said to have been the sons of Gregory de Grant, who acquired the lands of Stratherrick by marriage with a Bisset. This is so far borne out, that there is reason to think that Stratherrick was the earliest possession which the Grants had, and remained for some time in the family, while we find in Alexander the Third's reign a charter to Walter Bisset of Stratherrick. By this marriage the Grants at once took their place as barons of considerable power, and accordingly we find Laurence Grant bearing the high office of sheriff of Inverness in the reign of Alexander III., and taking a leading part in the transactions of that period. Laurence still further increased the possessions of the family by marrying the daughter and heiress of the baron of

Glencharny, in Strathspey, and obtained, in consequence, an extensive tract of country on the north side of the Spey. From this period the family took the name of Glencharny; and it seemed as if the family were to owe their whole advancement to their fortunate marriages, for Laurence's son and successor, Gilbert de Glencharny, added to his other possessions a considerable extent of property in the counties of Elgin and Banff, by marriage with Margaret Wiseman, heiress of the Wisemans of Molben. Gilbert had but one son, of the same name, by whose death without issue these properties came to his sister Christina, with the exception of Stratherrick, which descended to the male heir[1], Malcolm le Grant, probably a descendant of Robert, the younger son of Gregory the Grant. Christina had married Duncan Fraser, a cadet of the house of Lovat, and Fraser, finding that a peaceable possession of these properties in the midst of the clan Grant and at a distance from his own chief, was not to be expected, exchanged the properties in Strathspey with Malcolm Grant for that of Stratherrick, which its vicinity to Lovat rendered the more desirable possession for a Fraser. In this manner the greater part of Strathspey remained in the possession of the chief of the Grants, while their original property went into the family of the Frasers.

After Malcolm we know little of the Grants, until

[1] Robertson's Index.

we find Duncan Grant de eodem at the head of the clan in the middle of the fifteenth century, and from this period they began gradually to increase in extent of possessions and of power, until they rose to be a clan of no ordinary importance.

At different periods they acquired Glenmorison, Glenurchart, and many other estates, and continued in the ranks of the principal clans, until at length the extinction of the noble family of Finlater added the peerage of Seafield to their former possessions.

Arms.

Gules, three antique crowns, or.

Badge.

Cranberry heath.

Principal Seat.

Strathspey.

Oldest Cadet.

The Sliochd Phadrick, or Grants of Tullochgorum, appear to have been oldest cadets.

Chief.

Grant of Grant, now Earl of Seafield.

Force.

In 1715, 800. In 1745, 850.

CLAN FINGON.

Of the history of this clan but little is known; having settled at a very early period in the island of Sky, they became followers of the lords of the Isles, in whose history they are very often mentioned, but they do not appear to have been engaged in many transactions by which their name is separately

brought forward as a clan. Although so great a distance intervened between the country of the Macgregors and that of this family, they are unquestionably a branch of the former clan. In the MS. of 1450 they are brought from Finguine, a brother of Anrias or Andrew, who appears in the Macgregor genealogy about the year 1130. This connexion is farther proved by a bond of friendship entered into between Lauchlan Mackinnon, of Strathardill, and James Macgregor, of Macgregor, in 1671, in which bond, "for the special love and amitie between these persons, and condescending that they are descended lawfully *fra twa breethern of auld descent*, quhairfore and for certain onerous causes moving, we witt ye we to be bound and obleisit, likeas be the tenor hereof we faithfully bind and obleise us and our successors, our kin friends and followers, faithfully to serve ane anither in all causes with our men and servants, against all wha live or die."

In consequence of their connexion with the Macdonalds, the Mackinnons have no history independent of that clan, and the internal state of these tribes during the government of the lords of the Isles is so obscure that little can be learned regarding them, until the forfeiture of the last of these lords. During their dependence upon the Macdonalds there is but one event of any importance in which we find the Mackinnons taking a share, for it would appear that on the death of John of the Isles, in the fourteenth century, Mackinnon, with what object it is

impossible now to ascertain, stirred up his second son, John Mor, to rebel against his eldest brother, apparently with a view to the chiefship, and his faction was joined by the Macleans and the Macleods. But Donald, the elder brother, was supported by so great a proportion of the tribe, that he drove John Mor and his party out of the Isles, and pursued him to Galloway, and from thence to Ireland.

The rebellion being thus put down, John Mor threw himself upon his brother's mercy, and received his pardon, but Mackinnon was taken and hanged, as having been the instigator of the disturbance.

On the forfeiture of the last lord, Mackinnon became independent, but his clan was so small that he never attained any very great power in consequence. In the disturbances in the Isles which continued during the following century, the name of Sir Lauchlan Mackinnon occurs very frequently, and he appears, notwithstanding the small extent of his possessions, to have been a man of some consideration in his time. From this period they remained in the condition of the minor clans in the Highlands, and with them took a part in all the political events in which these clans were engaged.

CLAN AN ABA.

The Macnabs have been said by some to have been Macdonalds, by others, Macgregors; but there exists a bond of Manrent, dated 1606, which proves them to have been a branch of the Mackinnons, and

consequently of the Siol Alpine. This bond was entered into between Lachlan Mackinnon, of Strathardel, and Finlay Macnab, of Bowaine, and narrates that "happening to foregadder togedder with certain of the said Finlay's friends in their rooms, in the Laird of Glenurchay's country, and the said Lauchlan and Finlay *having come of one house*, and *being of one surname* and lineage, notwithstanding the said Lauchlan and Finlay this long time bygone oversaw their awn duties till uders in respect of the long distance and betwixt their dwelling places, quhairfore baith the saids now and in all time coming are content to be bound and obleisit, with consent of their kyn and friends, to do all sted, pleasure, assistance, and service that lies in them ilk ane to uthers: *The said Finlay acknowledging the said Lauchlan as ane kynd chieff, and of ane house:* and likelike the said Lauchlan to acknowledge the said Finlay Macnab, his friend, as his special kynsman and friend."

This account of their origin is fully confirmed by the MS. of 1450.

The Macnabs originally possessed considerable territories lying west of Loch Tay, but having followed Lorn in the opposition which he made to the Bruce, and having taken a conspicuous part in that struggle, their possessions were, on the accession of that monarch, restricted to the barony of Bowain, in Glendochard, to which they have a charter as early as 1536.

The Macnabs remained for a long time an independent clan in the heart of the possessions of the Campbells, and adopted a different line of politics from these great lords. The line of their chiefs, however, has at length become extinct, and their property is now in possession of the Braedalbane family.

CLAN DUFFIE.

The Macduffies or Macphees are the most ancient inhabitants of Colonsay, and their genealogy, which is preserved in the manuscript of 1450, evinces their connexion by descent with the Macgregors and Mackinnons, among whom accordingly they have been placed. Of their early history nothing is known, and the only notice regarding their chiefs at that period, is one which strongly confirms the genealogy contained in the MS. On the south side of the church of St. Columba, according to Martin, lie the tombs of Macduffie, and of the cadets of his family; there is a ship under sail and a two-handed sword engraven on the principal tombstone, along with this inscription,—

"Hic Iacet Malcolumbus Macduffie de Colonsay."

And in the genealogy the name of Malcolm occurs at a period which corresponds with the supposed date of the tombstone. The Macduffies certainly remained in possession of Colonsay as late as the middle of the seventeenth century, for we find them

mentioned on several occasions during the troubles of that period; but they appear at that time to have been nearly exterminated, as we find in the criminal records for 1623, Coil Mac Gillespic Macdonald, in Colonsay, (afterwards the celebrated Collkitto,) was "delaitit of airt and pairt of the felonie and cruell slaughter of Umquhill Malcolm Macphie of Colonsay," with others of his clan. From this period their estate seems to have gone into the possession of the Macdonalds, and afterwards of the Macneills, by whom it is still held; while the clan gradually sunk until they were only to be found, as at present, forming a small part of the inhabitants of Colonsay.

CLAN QUARRIE.

The Macquarries first appear in possession of the island of Ulva and part of Mull, and like the Mackinnons, their situation forced them, at a very early period, to become dependent upon the Macdonalds. But their descent from the clan Alpine, which has constantly been asserted by tradition, is established by the manuscript 1450, which deduces their origin from Guaire or Godfrey, a brother of Fingon, ancestor of the Mackinnons, and Anrias or Andrew, ancestor of the Macgregors. The history of the Macquarries resembles that of the Mackinnons in many respects; like them they had migrated far from the head-quarters of their race, they became dependent upon the lords of the Isles, and followed them as if they had been a branch of the clan.

On the forfeiture of the last lord of the Isles, they became, like the Mackinnons, in a manner independent, and although surrounded by various powerful clans, they maintained their station, which was that of a minor clan, without apparently undergoing any alteration; and survived many of the revolutions of fortune to which the greater clans were exposed in the same station, bearing among the other clans the character of great antiquity, and of having once been greater than they now were.

CLAN AULA.

The Macaulays, of Ardincaple, have for a long period been considered as deriving their origin from the ancient earls of Lennox, and it has generally been assumed, without investigation, that their ancestor was Aulay, son of Aulay, who appears in Ragman Roll, and whose father, Aulay, was brother of Maldowan, earl of Lennox. Plausible as this derivation may appear, there are yet two circumstances which render it impossible, and establish the derivation of the clan to have been very different.

In the first place, it is now ascertained that these Aulays were of the family of de Fasselane, who afterwards succeeded to the earldom, and among the numerous deeds relating to this family in the Lennox chartulary, there is no mention of any other son of Aulay's than Duncan de Fasselane, who succeeded to the earldom and left no male issue. Se-

condly, there exists a bond of friendship entered into between Macgregor of Glenstray and Macaulay of Ardincaple, upon the 27th May 1591, in which the latter owns his being a cadet of the house of the former, and promises to pay him the "Calp." There can be no doubt, therefore, that the Macaulays were a branch of the clan Alpine, and the mistake as to their origin has probably arisen from the similarity of name, and from their situation necessarily making them, for the time, followers of the earl of Lennox.

The Macaulays appear to have settled, at a very early period, in the Lennox, and the first chiefs who are mentioned in the Lennox chartulary are designed "de Ardincapill." Their connexion with the Macgregors led them to take some part in the feuds that unfortunate race were at all times engaged in, but the protection of the earls of Lennox seems to have relieved the Macaulays from the consequences which fell so heavily upon the Macgregors. The Macaulays never rose above the rank of a minor clan, and like many others in a similar situation, they have latterly become extinct.

CHAPTER IX.

IV. GARMORAN.

In the oldest list of the Scottish earldoms which has been preserved, appears the name of Garmoran. There was afterwards a lordship of Garmoran, consisting of the districts of Knoydart, Morer, Arisaig and Moydart; and the situation of this lordship indicates the position of the earldom to have been between north and south Argyll, including, besides the lordship of the same name, the districts of Glenelg, Ardnamurchan, and Morvern.

At no period embraced by the records do we discover Garmoran as an efficient earldom; but as the polity of earldoms was introduced by Edgar, its appearance in the old lists proves that it lasted in the possession of its native earls till after his reign. The grant by Alexander III. of a great part of the earldom as a lordship of the same name, likewise proves that it must have been for some time in the crown.

In consequence of a singular mistake of our earlier historians, the existence of this earldom has been entirely forgotten, and its history merged

in that of another earldom, of nearly the same name. Garmoran is known to the Highlanders by the name of Garbhcriochan, or the rough bounds. The identity of the first syllables of the two names shews that the name of Garmoran is descriptive of the district, and that it is properly Moran, with the prefixed qualification of garbh or rough. Now it is remarkable, that there is a Lowland earldom bearing the same name, without the prefixed qualification of *Rough*, for the old name of the Merns is Moerne. The name is certainly descriptive of the situation of the earldom, and must have been imposed at a very early period; but it is singular, that with reference to the Pictish nation, the original inhabitants of both, their position is identic, for the Merns bears exactly the same position towards the southern Picts, forming a sort of wedge-like termination to their territories, which Garmoran does to the Northern Picts. There can therefore be little doubt of the absolute identity of the names of these two earldoms[1].

The people and earls of Moerne are frequently mentioned in the older chronicles, principally as rebelling, along with the Moravians, against the government. It has invariably been assumed that Moerne here implies the Lowland Merns, but the constant and close connexion between the people of Moerne and the Moravians in the history of the

[1] In the red book of Clanranald, the name Morshron, pronounced Moran, and signifying "great nose", is applied to the districts forming the earldom of Garmoran.

Scottish rebellions has been remarked by historians as singular and inexplicable.

If, by the Moerne, the Northern earldom is meant, which is adjacent to Moray, the connexion is natural, but it is impossible to account either for the language of the chronicles, or for the circumstances themselves, if it is to be understood of the Lowland Merns.

This will appear more clearly from a review of the particular instances in which the name occurs. Moerne is mentioned in ancient chronicles four times:—

I. In A.D. 950, Malcolm, king of Scotland, went into Moray, and slew Cellach, and shortly afterwards he is slain by the Viri na Moerne, or Men of the Moerne in Fodresach. Cellach we can prove to have been Maormor of neither Moray nor Ross. He must have been of some neighbouring Maormorship. If Moerne is Moran in the north, the transaction is natural; the king slew their chief, and was slain by them in Forres. If the Merns, we neither know why the first event should have been mentioned or the second taken place. Moreover, another authority says he was slain by the Moravians at Ulurn. Ulurn was near Forres. We see how the Moravians might have been mistaken for the people of Garmoran—not for the Merns—or how the people of the Merns should have been in Moray.

II. Duncan, king of Scotland, is slain A.D. 1094 by Malpeder Macloen, Comite de Moerne. This,

however, could not have been the Southern Merns, because we have strong reason to think that until the reign of Edgar some time after, the Merns formed a part of the Maormorship of Angus. The older historians all agree that Merns was originally a part of Angus, and it certainly was so in the tenth century, for when Kenneth, the third king of Scotland, was slain by the daughter of the earl of Angus, the scene of his slaughter is placed by the old chronicles in Fettercairn in the Merns. The ancient dioceses of the Culdee church, however, afford the most certain information as to the number and extent of the Maormorships previous to the reign of Edgar, and they place the matter beyond a doubt, for the diocese of Brechin unquestionably included the Merns along with Angus, and prove that it must have formed a part of the Maormorship of Angus until the reign of Edgar. If the earl who slew king Duncan was earl of Garmoran, the event is more intelligible, for he did so for the purpose of placing Donald Bane on the throne; and Donald, we know, received the principal support from the Celtic inhabitants of the west.

III. Alexander I. in his palace at Invergowry is attacked by the "Satellites" of Moerne and Moray. He drives them *across* the *Month*—across the Spey and over "the Stockfurd into Ros."

> "And tuk and slew thame or he past
> Out of that land, that fewe he left
> To tak on hand swylk purpose eft."

The connexion between Moray and Garmoran is intelligible—not so if this was Merns; for it is quite impossible to account for the people of the Merns taking refuge in Ross, when the Grampians would afford them a securer retreat in their own neighbourhood. The language of Winton, however, is quite inconsistent with the supposition that the Southern Merns is here meant; if by this, the Northern Moerne or Garmoran is here meant, it agrees with our previous deduction, that the earldom must have been forfeited after the reign of Edgar.

It is thus plain that these transactions are connected with the Northern Moran only, and we trace from them three of the old earls of Garmoran.

1. Cellach, slain by Malcolm, king of Scotland, A.D. 950.

2. Cellach, who appears in the Sagas under the name of Gilli; he lived A.D. 990—1014, and was certainly Maormor of this district.

3. Malpeder Macleon, forfeited by Alexander I.

The earldom of Garmoran remained in the crown until the reign of Alexander III., with the exception of Glenelg, which had been given to the Bissets, A.D. 1160, and the support of the great chiefs of the Macdonalds at the convention of 1283 was purchased by the grant of Ardnamurchan to Angus More of the Isles, and of the remaining part of the earldom to Allan Mac Rory, lord of the Isles, under the name of the Lordship of Garmoran.

The ancient inhabitants of the earldom can, how-

ever, be traced by the assistance of the old manuscript genealogies. The various clans are, as we have seen by these genealogies, divided into five tribes, of which four can be identified with the tribes of the Gallgael, Moray, Ross, and Ness. The fifth consists of the Macleods and the Campbells, who are, by the oldest genealogies, deduced from a common ancestor. These two clans must have taken their descent from some of the ancient tribes, and we ought to find, in their early history, traces of a connexion with the earldom from which they proceed. The earliest charter which the Macleods possess is one from David II. to Malcolm, the son of Tormad Macleod, of two-thirds of Glenelg. He could not have acquired this by a marriage connexion, and as these two-thirds came to the crown by forfeiture of the Bissets, it bears a strong resemblance to a vassal receiving his first right from the crown, and consequently an old possessor. Glenelg, however, was in Garmoran, and the connexion of the Macleods with this earldom is strongly corroborated by the fact that in their oldest genealogy occur two Cellachs, grandfather and grandson, exactly contemporary with the two earls of Garmoran of that name.

The Campbells are not old in Argyll proper, or the sheriffdom of Argyll; it was, we know, the peculiar property of Somerled II., and we have distinct authority for its being planted with strangers. Campbell's ancestor was made sheriff by Alexander

II.; his successor adhered to government, and received many grants of land in the sheriffdom, so that we should expect to find traces of his original property in the possession of cadets, who came off before his acquisition of property in Argyll.

Allan Mac Rory obtained a grant of the lordship of Garmoran about 1275; his feudal heir was his daughter Christina, and her first act of possession is a charter Arthuro Campbell filio Domini Arthuro Campbell militis de terris de Muddeward Ariseg et Mordower et insulis de Egge et Rumme et pertineri.

Christina was never in actual though in feudal possession of the lordship, for though vera hæres, her nephew Ranald[1] was verus dominus, this is therefore apparently a feudal right given to an old possessor, otherwise we do not see its object.

Thus, when we find, from the manuscript genealogies, that the Macleods and Campbells were branches of the same ancient tribe, and when we find that the oldest notices of each tribe separately, connect them with the district of Garmoran, there can be little doubt that these two clans are the remaining descendants of the ancient inhabitants of that district.

CLAN LEOD.

There are few clans whose Norwegian origin has

[1] Ranald and Christina are so styled in a charter in the Inchaffray Chartulary.

been more strenuously asserted or more generally believed than that of the Macleods, and yet, for that origin there is not the vestige of authority. In this matter it is usual to find the chronicle of Man referred to as expressly sanctioning the assertion, and this reference has been again and again repeated, but notwithstanding the confidence with which this chronicle has been quoted as authority, it is a singular circumstance that that record is nevertheless destitute of the slightest hint of any such origin, or even of any passage which could be assumed as a ground for such an idea. Neither does the tradition of Norwegian descent, if such a tradition ever did exist, appear to be very old, for in a manuscript genealogy of the Macleods, written in the latter part of the sixteenth century, there is not a trace of such a descent, but, on the contrary, as we have seen, they are deduced from one common ancestor with the Campbells, and were certainly a part of the ancient inhabitants of the earldom of Garmoran.

From the earliest period in which the Macleods are mentioned in history, they have been divided into two great families of Macleod of Glenelg, or Harris, and Macleod of Lewis, and these families have for a considerable period disputed as to which of them the right of chief belongs. As occurs in the somewhat parallel case of the Macneils, this dispute appears to have arisen from the possessions of the Macleods having necessarily been so little connected

together, and from both families being nearly of equal power and consequence; but from the few data which have remained to guide us on this point there seems every reason to think, that Macleod of Glenelg, or Harris, was of old the proper chief of the clan. Macleod of Harris was originally invariably designated "de Glenelg", and Glenelg was certainly the first and chief possession of the clan. In various charters of the fifteenth century, to which the heads of both families happen to be witnesses, Macleod de Glenelg always appears before that of Macleod of Lewis, and finally the possessions of the Lewis family formed no part of the original possessions of the clan, for the first charter of the family of Lewis is one by king David II., to Torquil Macleod of the barony of Assint. And it is certain that Torquil obtained this barony by marriage with Margaret Macnicol, the heiress of the lands, and in that charter he is not designated "de Lewis", *nor has he any designation whatever.* These facts seem conclusive, that the claim of Macleod of Harris to be chief of the clan is well founded, and that the marriage of a younger son of that family with the heiress of Assgut and Lewis, gave rise to the family of Macleods of Lewis, who were the oldest cadets of the clan, and who soon came to rival the family of the chief in power and extent of territory.

The original possessions of the Macleods then appears to have been Glenelg, of which district king David II. grants a charter to Malcolm, the son of

Tormod Macleod, and the reddendo of the charter is to keep a galley with thirty-six oars for the use of the king. The Macleods are said to have acquired the extensive lands in Sky, which they still hold by marriage with the daughter of Macraild, or Macarailt, one of the Norwegian nobles of the Isles; and from this connexion, and the succession which was obtained by it, arose probably the tradition of their being descended from the Norwegian kings of the Isles. Malcolm was succeeded by his son William, who, although from his having been a younger son, he had been brought up for the church, appears to have involved himself in numberless feuds with the neighbouring clans, and to have become one of the most noted and daring of the restless chiefs of that period.

Among the first of his plundering incursions he ravaged the estates of Lovat in the Aird, in order to avenge an insult which he had received in that country in his youth. He afterwards on some occasion called down upon himself the resentment of the lord of the Isles, who invaded his estates with a considerable body of Macdonalds; William Macleod, however, possessed no small portion of military skill, and having a perfect knowledge of the country, he succeeded in surprising the Macdonalds at a place called Lochsligichan, where he defeated them with great slaughter. But notwithstanding this feud with the Macdonalds, John Macleod, his successor, is said to have followed the banner of Donald of the

Isles in his invasion of Scotland in 1411, and to have taken a part in the battle of Harlaw.

From the accession of the Macdonalds to the earldom of Ross, the Macleods seem to have acknowledged them as their lords, and to have followed them on all occasions. On the unfortunate dissension occurring between John, the last lord of the Isles, and his son Angus Ogg, when both parties at length took to arms, the one to reduce a rebellious son, and the other to depose a person whom he considered incapable of governing his extensive territories, Macleod of Glenelg embraced the cause of the injured father, and took an active share in the civil war which thus divided the Macdonalds and finally caused their ruin. He was present at the battle of the Bloody Bay, and lost his life in that unnatural engagement.

On the forfeiture of the last lord, the Macleods, as well as the other clans connected with the Macdonalds, assumed independence, and in consequence Alexander Macleod received from king James IV. a crown charter of all his lands, which included those of Harris and his extensive possessions in Sky; which charter narrates that these lands were held of the earls of Ross and lords of the Isles before their forfeiture, but were now to be held of the crown upon condition of holding in readiness one ship of twenty-six oars, and two of sixteen, for the king's service when required. After this period, the Macleods, like the other clans who had formerly been dependent

upon the Macdonalds, appear to have become involved in a succession of feuds with the remaining branches of that great but now reduced clan, and these feuds seem to have been prosecuted with all the bitterness and barbarity of the age. The Macleods took an active share in the conflicts and mutual injuries inflicted upon each other in the contest between the Macleans and the Macdonalds of Isla, towards the end of the sixteenth century, and by means of their support were mainly instrumental in causing the success of the former, and consequent ruin of the latter. But the most barbarous perhaps of any of these feuds was that carried on between the Macleods themselves and the clan Ranald.

The Macleods had long been in a state of irritation against the latter, in consequence of the bad treatment which a daughter of Macleod of Glenelg had some time before experienced from her husband, the captain of clan Ranald, and they only waited for a fitting occasion to satisfy their vengeance on that ground. Towards the close of the sixteenth century an opportunity presented itself, when a small party of Macleods having accidentally landed on the island of Egg, they were at first received with hospitality, but having been guilty of some incivilities to the young women of the island, the inhabitants resented it so far as to bind them hand and foot and turn them adrift in their boat to perish if assistance did not reach them; they had the good fortune, however, to be met by a boat of their own clansmen, and brought

to Dunbegan, where they gave an account of the treatment they had met with. Macleod eagerly availed himself of the opportunity of executing his long meditated revenge on the clan Ranald, and having manned his galleys, set sail for the island of Egg. When the inhabitants became aware of his approach, and feeling conscious of their inability to offer any effectual resistance against the force that threatened them, they took refuge, along with their wives and families, to the amount of two hundred, in a large cave, the situation and difficult discovery of which rendered it admirably adapted for concealment. Here for two days they succeeded in eluding the search of the Macleods, which was pursued with ineffectual industry, until at length their retreat was discovered in consequence of their impatience having led them to send forth a scout; when they refused to surrender themselves to the pleasure of the Macleod, he caused the stream of water which fell over the entrance of the cave to be turned aside; and having caused all the combustibles to be found on the island, had them piled up against the entrance, and so furious a fire maintained for many hours that every creature within was suffocated; thus, at one blow, exterminating the entire population of the island. This atrocity was one of the worst instances arising out of the feuds which at that period distracted the whole Highlands, and by which one family rose upon the ruins of another.

The possessions and power of the Macleods ap-

pear to have been very much increased by Sir Rorie More Macleod, and it was during his life that the rival family of Lewis became extinct,—a circumstance which, as it removed the division and disagreement hitherto subsisting in the clan, also tended to render the family of still greater influence. During the civil wars of the seventeenth century, the Macleods joined the royal army with seven hundred men, and took an active share in all the campaigns of that period; but when the clans again took arms in support of the cause of that family, the Macleods were induced, by the persuasion and active urgency of the Laird of Culloden, to abstain from taking any share in that insurrection, and while their presence would not probably have altered the ultimate result, they thereby escaped the numerous forfeitures of the period.

Arms.

Az. a castle triple towered and embattled, or, masoned sa. windows and port, gu.

Badge.

Red whortle-berries.

Principal Seat.

Glenelg.

Oldest Cadet.

Macleod of Lewis, now represented by Macleod of Rasay.

Chief.

Macleod of Macleod.

Force.

In 1704, 700. In 1715, 1000. In 1745, 700.

CLAN CAMPBELL.

To the Campbells a Norman origin has been very generally ascribed, and this numerous clan, who, although their possessions in Argyllshire were at first small, rapidly rose to considerable eminence, seems of late to have been tacitly surrendered by the supporters of the Celtic race to their antagonists, the admirers of William the Norman's motley band, yet no clan do these southern antiquaries claim more unjustly. Their claim is principally founded upon the assumption that the name Campbell is a mere corruption of that of de Campo Bello, which they assert to have been a Norman family. Now to this the answer is easy, for there never was a Norman family of the name of Campo Bello. Battel Abbey and other Rolls, Doomsday Book, and similar records, are equally silent about them, while the farther back we trace the spelling of the Scotch name, the more unlike does it become to his supposed Campo Bello, the oldest spelling of it, that in Ragman Roll, being Cambel or Kambel. There is thus no authority whatever for their Norman descent; and while the most ancient manuscript genealogies attest their Gaelic origin, the history of the earldom of Garmoran proves, as we have seen, that they formed a part of the ancient inhabitants of that district. There is one feature, however, in the tale of their Norman descent which deserves attention. While they say that their ancestor was a Norman de Campo Bello, they add that he acquired his

Argyllshire property by marriage with the daughter and heiress of Paul O'Duin, lord of Lochow. This story is so exactly similar to those in the other clans, where the oldest cadet had usurped the chiefship, that it leads to the suspicion that the same circumstance must have given rise to it among the Campbells. We have shewn it to be invariably the case, that when a clan claims a foreign origin, and accounts for their possession of the chiefship and property of the clan by a marriage with the heiress of the old proprietors, they can be proved to be in reality a cadet of that older house who had usurped the chiefship, while their claim to the chiefship is disputed by an acknowledged descendant of that older house. To this rule the Campbells are no exceptions, for while the tale upon which they found a Norman descent is exactly parallel to those of the other clans in the same situation, the most ancient manuscript genealogies deduce them in the male line from that very family of O'Duin, whose heiress they are said to have married, and the Macarthur Campbells, of Strachur, the acknowledged descendants of the older house, have at all times disputed the chiefship with the Argyll family. Judging from analogy, we are compelled to admit that the Campbells of Strachur must formerly have been chiefs of the clan, and that the usual causes in such cases have operated to reduce the Strachur family, and to place that of Argyll in that situation, and this is confirmed by the early history of the clan.

The first appearance of the Campbells is in the

reign of Alexander III., and we find them at that time divided into two great families, afterwards distinguished by the patronymics of Mac Arthur and Mac Cailinmor.

The first notice of the Mac Cailinmor branch is Gillespic Cambel, who witnesses the charter of erection of the Burgh of Newburgh by Alexander III. in 1266, and there is the strongest reason to think that he was heritable sheriff of the sheriffdom of Argyll, which had been erected by Alexander II. in 1221. It is certain, however, that until the reign of Robert the Bruce, the Campbells did not possess an heritable right to any properrty in Argyllshire. The situation of the Mac Arthur branch at this time was very different, for we find them in possession of a very extensive territory in the earldom of Garmoran, the original seat of the Campbells. It is therefore impossible to doubt that Mac Arthur was at this time at the head of the clan, and this position he appears to have maintained until the reign of James I. Arthur Campbell of this branch embraced the cause of Robert the Bruce, as well as Sir Neill Campbell, the son of Colinmore, and appears to have been as liberally rewarded by that monarch with the forfeited lands of his opponents. He obtained the keeping of the Castle of Dunstaffnage, with a considerable part of the forfeited territory of Lorn, and his descendants added Strachur in Cowall, and a considerable part of Glendochart and Glenfalloch, to their former possessions. In the reign of David II. the Mac Cailinmor branch, who since the marriage

of Sir Neil with the sister of Robert Bruce had been rapidly increasing in power and extent of territory, appear to have taken the first steps towards placing themselves at the head of the clan, but were successfully resisted by Mac Arthur, who obtained a charter, Arthuro Campbell quod nulli subjicitur pro terris nisi regi; and the Mac Arthurs appear to have maintained this station until the reign of James I., when they were doomed to incur that powerful monarch's resentment, and to be in consequence so effectually crushed as to offer no further resistance to the encroaching power of Mac Cailinmor.

When James I. summoned his parliament at Inverness for the purpose of entrapping the Highland chiefs, John Mac Arthur was one of those who fell into the snare, and he seems to have been among the few especially devoted to destruction, for he was beheaded along with Alexander, the lord of Garmoran, and his whole property forfeited, with the exception of Strachur and some lands in Perthshire, which remained to his descendants. His position at the head of the clan is sufficiently pointed out by Bower, who calls him "*princeps magnus* apud suos et dux mille hominum," but from this period the Mac Cailinmore branch were unquestionably at the head of the clan, and their elevation to the peerage, which took place but a few years after, placed them above the reach of dispute from any of the other branches of the clan. The Strachur family, in the mean time, remained in the situation of one of the

principal of the Ceann Tighe, preserving an unavailing claim to the position of which they had been deprived. After this period the rise of the Argyll family to power and influence was rapid, and the encroachments which had commenced with the branches of their own clan soon involved most of the clans in their neighbourhood; and their history is most remarkable from their extraordinary progress from a station of comparative inferiority to one of unusual eminence, as well as from the constant and steady adherence of all the barons of that house to the same deep system of designing policy by which they attained their greatness.

It would be inconsistent with the limits of this work to follow the history of this family farther, and the omission is of the less importance, as during the early part their history is identic with that of all the other Highland clans of no great notoriety; while in the later part, when they began to rise upon the ruins of the great families of the Isles, it becomes in some degree the same with that of the Highlanders generally, and consists principally of the details of a policy characterised by cunning and perfidy, although deep and far-sighted, and which obtained its usual success in the acquisition of great temporal grandeur and power.

Arms.

Gyronne of eight, or, and sable.

Badge.

Myrtle.

Principal Seat.

Originally the lordship of Garmoran, afterwards Lochow.

Oldest Cadet.

Maccailinmore, or Campbell of Lochow, now Duke of Argyll, was oldest cadet, but has been at the head of the clan since 1427.

Chief.

Previous to 1427, Macarthur Campbell of Strachur.

Force.

In 1427, 1000. In 1715, 4000. In 1745, 5000.

V. CAITHNESS.

The northern districts of Scotland were those which were most early exposed to the ravages of the Norwegians, and it was in these districts where they effected their first permanent settlement in Scotland. But the nature of the country itself had always a considerable influence upon the effect produced on the population by the Norwegian settlements. Where the country was open and exposed the population was in general altogether changed, and in process of time became purely Norse; but where the conquered districts possessed in whole or in part the mountainous, and at that period, almost inaccessible character of the rest of the Highlands, the actual population commonly remained Gaelic, although the chiefs were reduced to subjection and became tributary to the Norwegians. This distinction in the character of the different conquered districts can be traced without difficulty in the Sagas, and these invaluable records afford sufficient reason for thinking that a considerable portion of the Gaelic population re-

mained, notwithstanding the long occupation of the country by the Norwegians. The districts which were subjected to the most permanent occupation of the Norwegians in Scotland, were those of Caithness, Ness, and Sudrland, or Sutherland.

The district of Caithness was originally of much greater extent than the modern county of that name, as it included the whole of the extensive and mountainous district of Strathnaver. Towards the middle of the tenth century the Norwegian Iarl of Orkney obtained possession of this province, and with the exception of a few short intervals, it continued to form a part of his extensive territories for a period of nearly two hundred years. The district of Strathnaver, which formed the western portion of the ancient district of Caithness, differed very much in appearance from the rest of it, exhibiting indeed the most complete contrast which could well be conceived, for while the eastern division was in general low, destitute of mountains, and altogether of a Lowland character, Strathnaver possessed the characteristics of the rudest and most inaccessible of Highland countries; the consequence of this was, that while the population of Caithness proper became speedily and permanently Norse, that of Strathnaver must, from the nature of the country, have remained in a great measure Gaelic; and this distinction between the two districts is very strongly marked throughout the Norse Sagas, the eastern part being termed simply *Katenesi*, while Strathnaver, on the other hand, is always designated

"Dölum a Katenesi", or the Glens of Caithness. That the population of Strathnaver remained Gaelic we have the distinct authority of the Sagas, for they inform us that the Dölum, or glens, were inhabited by the "Gaddgedli", a word plainly signifying some tribe of the Gael, as in the latter syllable we recognize the word Gaedil or Gael, which at all events shews that the population of that portion was not Norse.

The oldest Gaelic clan which we find in possession of this part of the ancient district of Caithness is the clan Morgan or Mackay.

CLAN MORGAN.

There are few clans whose true origin is more uncertain than that of the Mackays. By some they have been said to have descended from the family of Forbes in Aberdeenshire, by others, from that of Mackay of Ugadale in Kintyre, and that they were planted in the North by king William the Lion, when he defeated Harald, earl of Orkney and Caithness, and took possession of these districts. But when we take into consideration the very great power and extent to which this clan had attained in the beginning of the fifteenth century, it is difficult to conceive that they could have been a mere offset from families in the South of comparatively small extent, or to give credence to stories in themselves improbable and which have nothing further to support them than similarity of name in the one case,

and of armorial bearings in the other. It happens, unfortunately for the solution of this question, that the clan Mackay is not contained in the manuscript of 1450; and in the absence of direct testimony of any sort, the most probable supposition seems to be, that they were descended from the ancient Gaelic inhabitants of the district of Caithness. If this conclusion be a just one, however, we can trace the early generations of the clan in the Sagas, for we are informed by them, that towards the beginning of the twelfth century "there lived in the Dölum of Katanesi (or Strathnaver) a man named Moddan, a noble and rich man", and that his sons were Magnus Orfi, and Ottar, the earl in Thurso.

The absence of all mention of Moddan's father, the infallible mark of a Norwegian in the Sagas, sufficiently points out that he must have been a native; but this appears still more strongly from his son being called an earl. No Norwegian under the earl of Orkney could have borne such a title, but they indiscriminately termed all the Scottish Maormors and great chiefs, earls, and consequently Moddan and his son Ottar must have been the Gaelic Maormors of Caithness; and consequently the Mackays, if a part of the ancient inhabitants of Caithness, were probably descended from them.

A very minute and circumstantial history of the first generations is narrated in the ponderous volume of Sir Robert Gordon; he deduces them from the Forbeses, but states that the first who obtained pos-

sessions in Strathnaver was named Martin, and adds "that he wes slain at Keanloch-Eylk in Lochaber, and had a son called Magnus. Magnus died in Strathnaver, leaveing two sones, Morgan and Farquhar. From this Morgan the whole familie of Macky is generally called clan-wic-Worgan in Irish or old Scottish, which language is most as yet vsed in that countrey. From Farquhar the clan-wic-Farquhar in Strathnaver ar descended."

The striking coincidence between Martin and his son Magnus, of Sir Robert Gordon and Moddan and his son Magnus of the Sagas, strongly confirms the supposition that the Mackays are descended from these old Maormors of Caithness. The first chief of this clan who appears on record is Angus Dow, towards the beginning of the fifteenth century, and to him the latter chiefs can all be traced. At this time the clan had extensive possessions in Sutherland and Caithness, and seem to have been of no ordinary power and consideration among the Highland clans. Their territories included the greater part of Strathnaver and a considerable portion of the district of Sutherland proper, and these were confirmed by Donald, lord of the Isles, after he had married the countess of Ross, "Angusis eyg de Strathnaver et Nigello filiô suo seniori inter ipsum et Elezabetham de insulis sororem nostram procreato," on the 8th of October, 1415. Among the chiefs arrested by king James I. at the parliament held at Inverness in 1427, Angus Dow is mentioned and designated as

the leader of no less than four thousand men, a fact which places the Mackays among the most powerful of the Highland clans, and shews that they must have occupied their territories for a very long period of time. Angus Dow was chiefly remarkable for the resistance which he made to Donald of the Isles, when that ambitious leader made his well known attempt to obtain possession of the earldom of Ross, and it is this event which has principally preserved the name of Angus Dow Mackay from oblivion. Donald of the Isles had claimed the earldom of Ross in right of his wife, but had been refused possession of it by the duke of Albany, then governor of Scotland, "whereat," says Sir Robert Gordon, "Donald of the Isles took such indignation and displeasure, that raising all the power of the Isles, he came into Rosse and spoiled the country, which Angus Dow Mackay of Farr endeavoured to defend, because that Donald had molested some friends which he had in that province. He met the lord of the Isles at Dingwall, where he fought a cruel skirmish against him. In end, Donald overthrew Angus Dow, took him prisoner and killed his brother Rory Gald Mackay, with divers others." In another part of his work, alluding to the same conflict, Sir Robert Gordon says, "Donald of the Isles having detayned Angus Dow a while in captivitie released him and gave him his daughter in marriage, whom Angus Dow carried home with him into Strathnaver, and had a son by her called 'Neill Wasse,' so named because

he was imprisoned in the Basse." Shortly after this Angus Dow appears to have brought the attention of the energetic James upon him, in consequence of an incursion which he had made into Caithness. The inhabitants of Caithness had resisted his inroad, and a battle had been fought at Helmsdale between the parties, "when ther wes much slaughter on either syde." In consequence of this Angus was included in the summons to attend the parliament at Inverness in 1427, and feeling that it would not have been prudent to disobey that order, he was arrested with the other Highland chiefs, on which occasion Fordun has transmitted his name to us in the following passage, "Ibi arrestavit Angus Duff, alias Macqye, cum quatuor filiis suis ducem quatuor millium de Strathnaveri." Angus obtained his liberty from the king but his son was detained as a hostage, and committed to the prison of the Bass for security.

After this period, the history of the Mackays consists almost entirely of constant incursions into Caithness, together with the usual feuds in which the Highland clans were at all times engaged, and they do not appear to have maintained the power and influence which they possessed under Angus Dow, but with diminished territories to have assumed a somewhat lower station in the scale of the Highland clans. The first crown charter obtained by the Mackays of their extensive possessions in Strathnaver appears to have been as late as the

year 1499. This charter was obtained in consequence of Y. Mackay, at that time chief of the clan, having apprehended Alexander Sutherland, of Dalred, his own nephew, who had incurred the vengeance of government in consequence of the murder of Alexander Dunbar, brother of Sir James Dunbar, of Cumnock, and delivered him over to the king with ten of his accomplices. The power of the government had now so far penetrated into the Highlands, that the Highland chiefs began to feel the necessity of possessing some sort of feudal title to their lands, while the government, aware of the advantage to its influence which the want of such a title occasioned, were not always willing to grant it; in consequence of this, the Highland chiefs now began to take advantage of any service which they might have rendered to the government, to demand, as their reward, a feudal investiture of their estates; and to this was probably owing the charter which Y. Mackay now obtained, and which his descendants took especial care that when once procured, it should be frequently renewed.

It would be tedious and uninteresting to follow this clan through all the domestic broils and feuds with the neighbouring clans, of which their history is entirely composed, and in which it in no respect differed from that of other Highland clans. It may be sufficient to mention that considerable military genius, some talent, and more good fortune contributed to raise the chief of the clan to the dignity

of the peerage in the person of Donald Mackay, first Lord Reay, and thus to confer upon the clan a fictitious station among the other clans, which their power had not previously enabled them to attain. Donald Mackay had raised a regiment of fifteen hundred men of his clan, which he carried over to Germany to the assistance of the king of Bohemia; and after having taken a distinguished part in all the foreign service of the time, he returned to England, at the commencement of the civil war in the reign of Charles I., with some reputation, acquired during the continental wars, and having been of considerable service to that unfortunate monarch, he was by him raised to the peerage with the title of Lord Reay.

His successors in the peerage maintained the station to which they had been thus raised, but, being as willing to remain in the peerage as their ancestor had been to be raised to it, *Lord Reay* found it as much his interest to oppose the family of Stewart as *Donald Mackay* had to support that family in their difficulties with all his interest,—and accordingly throughout the insurrections in favour of that royal house in the years 1715 and 1745, the existing government found in Lord Reay a staunch and active supporter; while the Stewarts found that in rewarding the loyalty of the chief of the Mackays with a peerage, they had but changed a steady friend to a bitter enemy, and that Charles Edward was to find one of his most powerful oppo-

nents in the great-grandson of the person who had been most indebted to his grandfather.

The lineal descendant of this ancient line of Highland chiefs still remains in possession of the peerage, but having sold the estates which had been the property of the family for so many generations, the clan are left in reality without a chief of their race.

Arms.

Azure, on a chevron, or, between three bears' heads couped, argent, and muzzled, gules. A roebuck's head erased, of the last, between two hands holding daggers, all proper.

Badge.

Bulrush.

Principal Seat.

Strathnaver.

Oldest Cadet.

Mackay of Auchness.

Chief.

Erick Mackay, Lord Reay.

Force.

In 1427, 4000. In 1745, 800.

VI. NESS.

Among the Rikis or districts in Scotland mentioned in the Sagas, and which are exactly synonymous with Maormorships, as they may be called, or the earldoms of Scottish writers, the name of Ness occurs frequently. This designation has generally been supposed to be nothing more than a variation of the word *Kateness*, and has accord-

ingly been so translated in most of the Latin translations of the Sagas; but a strict comparison of the different passages in which it occurs will shew clearly that Ness and Caithness must be held to have been names applied by the Norwegians to different districts. Thus, in describing the civil war which took place in the Orkneys about the year 1040 between Thorfinn, Earl of Orkney, and Rognvald, his nephew, who claimed a part of the Islands of Orkney, in right of his father, the Orkneyinga Saga says that "Rognvald sent messengers to *Nes* and the Sudereyom to say that he had taken possession of the kingdom which was Thorfinn's; and that none in these districts opposed him, but that Thorfinn was in the meantime in *Katenesi* with his friends," thus shewing distinctly that *Nes* and Katenes could not have been applied to the same district, but that there must have been a marked difference between them. This is confirmed in another passage of the same Saga, in which it is mentioned that Swen having gone to *Nes* to plunder, was detained there by stormy weather, and sent a messenger to that effect to Iarl Erlend, at that time in Katenes, and the same passage shews that *Nes* must have been a district of considerable size, as it mentions Swen having overrun the country and carried off an immense booty; and also that at this period, namely, towards the beginning of the twelfth century, Nes belonged to the native inhabitants, otherwise it would not have been

made the object of a plundering expedition; a circumstance which was not the case with regard to Caithness. It appears, in fact, distinctly from the Sagas, that Ness was situated somewhere on the northern shore of Scotland, and that it included the north-western angle of the country; for the Earls of Orkney are frequently mentioned as crossing the Pentland Firth into Nes, and on one occasion Swen is stated, in the Orkneyinga Saga, to have gone from Lewes into Scotland to meet the king of Scotland, and as having passed through Ness on his way.

The district of Strathnaver, as we have seen, formed part of the Riki of Katenes, and was known to the Norwegians by the name of "Dölum a Katenesi." The only districts therefore which at all answer to the description of Ness are those of Assint Edderachylis and Diurnes; these districts are not included in any of the other earldoms comprehended in the north-western corner of Scotland. And in the latter the appellation Ness appears to have been preserved. There seems therefore little reason to doubt that there was an ancient maormorship or earldom, comprehending these districts of Assint Edderachylis and Diurnes, and that that earldom was known to the Norwegians under the designation of the Riki of Ness.

The most ancient Gaelic clan which can be traced as inhabiting these districts, is the clan Nicail or Macnicols.

CLAN NICAIL.

"Tradition, and even documents declare," says the Reverend Mr. William Mackenzie, in his statistical account of the parish of Assint, "that it was a forrest of the ancient Thanes of Sutherland." "One of these Prince Thanes gave it in vassalage to one *Mackrycul*, who in ancient times held the coast of Coygach, that part of it at the place presently called Ullapool. The noble Thane made Assint over in the above manner, as Mackrycul had recovered a great quantity of cattle carried off from the county of Sutherland by foreign invaders. Mackrycul's family, by the fate of war in those days of old, being reduced to one heir female, she was given in marriage to a younger son of Macleod, laird of Lewis, the thane of Sutherland consenting thereto; and also making Assint over to the new-married couple, together with its superiority. The result of this marriage was fourteen successive lairds here of the name of Macleod." The same gentleman also adds, in a note, "Mackry-cul is reported by the people here to be the potent man of whom are descended the Macnicols, Nicols, and Nicolsons." With the exception of the part performed by the Thane of Sutherland, which is disproved by the fact, that the charter to Torquil Macleod, who married the heiress of Mackrycul, of the lands of Assint was a crown charter, and does not narrate any grant whatever; this account is substantially confirmed by the manuscript of 1450, in which MS. the descent of the clan Nicail is traced in a direct line from a cer-

tain *Gregall*, plainly the *Krycul* of the reverend minister of Assint.

From a calculation of generations it appears that Gregall must have flourished in the twelfth century, and as we have seen that this district was certainly at that time occupied by a Gaelic tribe, it follows that the Macnicols must be of Gaelic origin. But the clan Nicol are not connected by the manuscript of 1450 with any of the four great tribes into which the clans contained in that manuscript are divided, and which tribes have been shewn to be synonymous with the ancient districts of Moray, Ros, Garmoran, and the tribe of the Gallgael. It seems therefore clear, that we must look upon the Macnicols as the descendants of the ancient Gaelic tribe who formed the earliest inhabitants of the district of Ness. This clan is now nearly extinct, and of its history, when in possession of these districts, we know nothing. But these ancient possessions certainly comprehended Edderachylis and Duirnes as well as Assint and Coygach, as we find these districts in the possession of the Macleods of Lewis, who acquired their mainland territories by marriage with the only daughter of the last Macnicol. The district of Assint remained in the possession of Macleod for many generations until about the year 1660, when it became the property of the earl of Seaforth, by the usual mode in which the powerful barons obtained possession of the properties of the chiefs in their neighbourhood, whom circumstances had reduced into

their power, viz. by the fatal operation of the old system of wadset and apprising. By purchase it afterwards fell into the hands of the Sutherland family, in whose possession it has ever since remained. The northern portion of this district continued for some time to be held by the Macleods, until a feud between Macleod of Edderachylis and the Morisons of Duirnes gave the Mackays, who were then at the height of their power, an opportunity of wresting these estates from both families, and accordingly these districts have ever since formed a part of the Mackays' possessions, or what is called Lord Reay's country.

VII. SUDRLAND.

The ancient district of Sutherland or Sudrland, so termed by the Norwegians, in consequence of its position in respect to Caithness, which for a long time was their only possession on the mainland of Scotland, was of much less extent than the present country of the same name; for the districts of Strathnaver, Edderachylis, Duirnes, and Assint, which are included in the same county at present, formed no part of the ancient earldom, but belonged the first to Caithness, while the others constituted, as we have seen, the ancient district of Ness. This district, therefore, included merely the eastern portion of the county, and although it is unquestionably of a mountainous and Highland character, yet

it did not, like the other Highland districts, retain its Gaelic population in spite of the Norwegian conquest, but became entirely colonized by the Norse, who thus effected a permanent change in its population. This result, however, arose from circumstances altogether peculiar to the district of Sutherland, and which, in no respect, apply to the case of other Highland regions.

It will be in the recollection of the reader, that the principal cause of the extensive conquest of Thorfinn, the Norwegian Iarl of Orkney, on the mainland of Scotland, in the year 1034, was from the king of Scotland having bestowed Caithness and Sutherland upon Moddan, his sister's son, with commands to wrest these districts from the Norwegian Iarl, to whom they had been ceded by the preceding monarch. But there is considerable reason to think, from the expressions of the Norse writers, and from the events which followed, that Moddan must have been the Gaelic chief or Maormor of Sutherland; for independently of the improbability of this district having been bestowed on any other Gaelic chief than its own proper Maormor, when the only object of the king was to wrest it from the hands of the Norwegians, the Saga expressly mentions that Moddan went north to take possession of these two districts, and levied his army for that purpose in Sutherland,—a fact which, in these times, is sufficient to prove Moddan to have been the Maormor of

Sudrland. The natural consequence of the complete success of Thorfinn, and of the total overthrow of his opponents must have been, in accordance with the manners of the times, that his vengeance would be peculiarly directed against the Gaelic chiefs, to whose race Moddan belonged, and against the Gaelic population who had principally supported him in his war with Thorfinn. We may hence conclude with certainty, that on the establishment of the Norwegian kingdom of Thorfinn, the Gaelic inhabitants of Sudrland would be altogether driven out or destroyed, and that during the extended duration of the Norwegian occupancy, its population would become purely and permanently Norse.

There are consequently no Highland clans whatever descended from the Gaelic tribe which anciently inhabited the district of Sutherland, and the modern Gaelic population of part of that region is derived from two sources. In the first place, several of the tribes of the neighbouring district of Ross, at an early period gradually spread themselves into the nearest and most mountainous parts of the country, and they consisted chiefly, as we have seen, of the clan Anrias. Secondly, Hugh Freskin, a descendant of Freskin de Moravia, and whose family was a branch of the ancient Gaelic tribe of Moray, obtained from King William the territory of Sutherland, although it is impossible to discover the circumstances which occasioned the grant. He was of

course accompanied in this expedition by numbers of his followers, who increased in Sutherland to an extensive tribe; and Freskin became the founder of the noble family of Sutherland, who, under the title of Earls of Sutherland, have continued to enjoy possession of this district for so many generations.

CONCLUSION.

HAVING now concluded the history of the Highland clans according to the system established in the former part of the Work, it may be proper here to state in a few words, the simple but highly important conclusion to which these researches have brought us.

First. The Gaelic race at present occupying the Highlands, have existed as a distinct and peculiar people, inhabiting the same districts which they now occupy, from the earliest period to which the records of history reach.

Secondly. Previous to the thirteenth century, that Gaelic nation was divided into a few great tribes, which exactly correspond with the ancient earldoms of that part of Scotland. The hereditary chiefs of these tribes were termed Maormors, a title which the influence of Saxon manners changed to that of earl.

Thirdly. From these few tribes all the Highlanders are descended, and to one or other of them each of the Highland clans can be traced.

Upon this system, therefore, has every part of the present Work been brought to bear. Each of the clans has been viewed rather as forming a part of one great whole than as a separate family detached from all others, and it has throughout been deemed of more importance to establish with precision the place of each clan in this great system, than to enter into any detail of their history. Of the importance of the result to which all these researches have led, it is impossible for a moment to doubt; and while a view has been given of the history of each detached portion, every thing has been brought to contribute, in some degree, to the establishment of a great truth as new as it is important.

This second portion would have extended to far greater length and more minute detail of family history, had the Author not felt the necessity of compressing his plan within the narrow limits of an Essay, which he was desirous should exhibit, in a distinct and complete form, the theory of Scottish history, which his researches have led him to adopt, and which he now submits with deference to the judgment of the public.

The result of the system will be found, at one view, in the following Table of the descent of the Highland clans.

TABLE OF THE DESCENT OF THE HIGHLAND CLANS.

	Name of the Tribe according to Ptolemy.	Name of the Maormorship or Earldom.	Name of the great Clans.	Name of the small Clans.	Name of the Chief.
Dicaledones Cruthne or Northern Picts.	Kaledonioi	The Gallgael	Siol Cuinn	Clan Rory	Macrory.
				Clan Donald	Macdonell.
				Clan Dugall	Macdugald.
			Siol Gillevray	Clan Neill	Macneill.
				Clan Lachlan	Maclachlan.
				Clan Ewen	Macewen.
			Siol Eachern	Clan Dugall Craignish.	Campbell of Craignish.
				Clan Lamond	Lamond.
			Clan Donnachie		Robertson.
			Clan Pharlane		Macfarlane.
			Clan Chattan		Macpherson.
			Clan Cameron		Cameron.
	Kanteai	Moray	Clan Nachtan		Macnachtan.
			Clan Gilleon		Maclean.
			Siol O'Cain	Clan Roich	Monro.
				Clan Gillemhaol	Macmillan.
			Clan Anrias		Ross.
			Clan Kenneth		Mackenzie.
			Clan Mathan		Mathieson.
	Karnones	Ross	Siol Alpine	Clan Gregor	Macgregor.
				Clan Grant	Grant.
				Clan Fingon	Mackinnon.
				Clan Anaba	Macnab.
				Clan Duffie	Macphie.
				Clan Quarrie	Macquarrie.
				Clan Aulay	Macaulay.
	Kreones	Garmoran	Clan Leod		Macleod.
			Clan Campbell		Campbell.
	Kournaovioi	Caithness	Clan Morgan		Mackay.
	Kairinoi	Ness	Clan Nical		Macnicol.

APPENDIX

TO

PART II.

As the simple conclusion to which we have arrived, after the investigation contained in this Work, both as to the origin of the Highlanders generally and of the Highland clans in particular, is, that the whole Highland clans are, with very few exceptions, descended from one Gaelic nation, who have inhabited the same country from time immemorial,—it follows that the plan of this Work must exclude all those families to whom a long residence in the country have given the name of Highlanders, but who are not of Gaelic origin. But as these families are not very numerous, it will be proper, in order to complete this sketch of the Highlanders, that we should shortly state, in an Appendix, the reasons for considering them of foreign origin. There are, perhaps, few countries into which the introduction of strangers is received with less favour than the Highlands of Scotland. So strongly were the Highlanders themselves imbued with an hereditary repugnance to the settlement of fo-

reigners among them, that assisted as that prejudice was by the almost impenetrable nature of their country, such an occurrence must originally have been nearly impossible, and at all times exceedingly difficult. In this respect, however, the extinction of the ancient earls or maormors produced some change. Norman and Saxon barons, by the operation of the principles of feudal succession, acquired a nominal possession of many of the great Highland districts, and were prepared to seize every favourable opportunity to convert that nominal possession to an actual occupation of the country; and although their influence was not great enough to enable them materially to affect the population of the interior of their respective districts, yet, under their protection, many of the foreign families might obtain a footing in those parts which more immediately bordered on the Lowlands. It is accordingly the eastern and southern boundary of the Highlands which would naturally become exposed to the encroachment of the Lowlanders and their barons, and in which we might expect to find clans which are not of pure Gaelic origin. The first of these clans is that of the

STEWARTS.

In the present state of our information regarding the Stewarts, the question of their origin seems to have been at length set at rest, and until the discovery of new documents shall unsettle this deci-

sion, there seems no reason to doubt that they are a branch of the Norman family of Fitzallan. The proofs which have been brought forward in support of this conclusion are too demonstrative to be overcome by the authority of tradition alone, however ancient that tradition may be, and until some important additional information be discovered, we must look upon the fabled descent of the Stewarts from the thanes of Lochaber, and consequently their native origin, as altogether visionary.

The whole of the Scottish Stewarts can be traced to Renfrewshire as their first seat, but still, in consequence of the great extent of territory acquired by this family all over Scotland, a considerable number of them penetrated into the Highlands, and the amount of the Highland families of the name became in time considerable. Those families of the name who are found established in the Highlands in later times are derived from three sources, the Stewarts of Lorn, Atholl, and Balquidder.

The Stewarts of Lorn are descended from a natural son of John Stewart, the last lord of Lorn, who, by the assistance of the Maclarins, a clan to whom his mother belonged, retained forcible possession of a part of his father's estates; and of this family are the Stewarts of Appen, Invernahyle, Fasnacloich, &c. Besides the descendants of the natural son of the last lord of Lorn, the family of the Stewart of Grandtully in Atholl is also descended from this

family, deriving their origin from Alexander Stewart, fourth son of John, lord of Lorn.

The Stewarts of Athöll consist almost entirely of the descendants of the natural children of Alexander Stewart, commonly called the "Wolfe of Badenoch"; of these the principal family was that of Stewart of Garth, descended from James Stewart, one of the Wolfe of Badenoch's natural sons, who obtained a footing in Atholl by marrying the daughter and heiress of Menzies of Fothergill, or Fortingall, and from this family almost all the other Atholl Stewarts proceed.

The Balquidder Stewarts are entirely composed of the illegitimate branches of the Albany family. The principal families were those of Ardvorlich, Glenbucky, and others.

MENZIES.

The original name of this family was Meyners, and they appear to be of Lowland origin. Their arms and the resemblance of name distinctly point them out to be a branch of the English family of Manners, and consequently their Norman origin is undoubted. They appear, however, to have obtained a footing in Atholl at a very early period, although it is not now possible to ascertain by what means the acquisition was obtained. Robert de Meyners grants a charter of the lands of Culdares in Fortingall to Mathew de Moncrief as early as the reign of Alexander II. His

son Alexander de Meyners was certainly in possession of the lands of Weem, Aberfeldie, and Glendochart, in Atholl, besides his original possessions of Durrisdeer in Nithsdale. He was succeeded in the estates of Weem, Aberfeldie and Durisdeer, by his eldest son Robert, while his younger son, Thomas, obtained the lands of Fothergill.

From the eldest son the present family of Menzies of Menzies is descended; but the family of Menzies of Fothergill became extinct in the third generation, and the property was transferred to the family of Stewart in consequence of the marriage of James Stewart, natural son of the Wolfe of Badenoch, with the heiress.

FRASER.

Of the Norman origin of the family of the Frasers it is impossible for a moment to entertain any doubt. They appear during the first few generations uniformly in that quarter of Scotland which is south of the Firths of Forth and Clyde; and they possessed at a very early period extensive estates in the counties of East Lothian and of Tweeddale: besides this, the name of Frisale, which is its ancient form, appears in the roll of Battle Abbey, thus placing the Norman character of their origin beyond a doubt.

Down to the reign of Robert the Bruce the Frasers appear to have remained in the southern counties, but during his reign they began to spread

northward, penetrating into Mearns and Aberdeenshire, and finally into Inverness-shire. Sir Andrew Fraser appears to have acquired extensive territories in the North by marriage with the heiress of a family of considerable consequence in Caithness; but he still possessed property in the South, as he appears under the title of Dominus de Touch, in the county of Stirling. Simon Fraser was the first of the family of Lovat. By marriage with Margaret, daughter of John, earl of Orkney and Caithness, he obtained a footing in the North. On the death of Magnus, the last earl of this line, he unsuccessfully contested the succession with the earl of Stratherne, but at the same time he acquired the property of Lovat, which descended to his wife through her mother, the daughter and heiress of Graham of Lovat. His son Hugh is the first of this family who appears on record in possession of Lovat and the Aird. On the 11th September, 1367, Hugh Fraser, "Dominus de Loveth et portionarius terrarum de Aird", does homage to the bishop of Moray for his part of the half daviach land of Kintallergy and Esser and fishings of Form. After this he occurs frequently under the title of "Dominus de Loveth", and this Hugh Fraser, Dominus de Loveth, is the undisputed ancestor of the modern Frasers of Lovat, while of their connexions with the Southern Frasers, and also of their consequent Norman origin, there can be no doubt whatever.

CHISHOLM.

Few families have asserted their right to be considered as a Gaelic clan with greater vehemence than the Chisholms, notwithstanding that there are perhaps few whose Lowland origin is less doubtful. Hitherto no one has investigated their history; but their early charters suffice to establish the real origin of the family with great clearness. The Highland possessions of the family consist of Comer, Strathglass, &c., in which is situated their castle of Erchless, and the manner in which they acquired these lands is proved by the fact, that there exists a confirmation of an indenture betwixt William de Fenton of Baky on the one part, and "*Margaret de la Ard domina de Erchless and Thomas de Chishelme her son and heir*" on the other part, dividing between them the lands of which they were heirs portioners, and among these lands is the barony of the Ard in Inverness-shire. This deed is dated at Kinrossy, 25th of April, 1403.

In all probability, therefore, the husband of Margaret must have been Alexander de Chishelme, who is mentioned in 1368 as comportioner of the barony of Ard along with lord Fenton.

The name of Chisholm does not occur in Battle Abbey Roll, so there is no distinct authority to prove that the family was actually of Norman origin, but these documents above cited distinctly shew that the name was introduced into the Highlands from

the low country. Their original seat was in all probability in Roxburgshire, as we find the only person of the name who signs Ragman's Roll is "Richard de Chesehelm del county de Roxburg", and in this county the family of Chisholm still remains. Their situation therefore, together with the character of the name itself, seems with sufficient clearness to indicate a Norman origin.

The four families whose origin we have here investigated, although cursorily, complete the number of clans whose foreign origin can be established with any degree of certainty; and whether we consider the small number of these families, or their situation on the borders of the Highlands, we cannot but be struck with the small impression which the predominating influence of the Saxons and Normans in the Highlands, and the continued encroachments of the Lowland barons, both of such lengthened endurance, produced upon the population of the aboriginal Gael. This is a fact which can only be accounted for by the rooted and unalterable hatred which the Gael have always exhibited to the introduction among them or settlement of strangers, and which perhaps more than any other cause led to those interminable feuds by which the Highlands of Scotland were so long and grievously distracted.

THE END.

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